

*new for St. Peter's 1st book, in the
his not the same.*

A
DISCOURSE
O F

The Growth of *England*
in Populoufness and **Trade**
since the Reformation.

Of the **Clerical Rebe-**
nue, and the same asserted
to be reasonable and necessa-
ry here.

Of the Numbers of the
People of *England*, founded
on the Poll Bills, and the Bi-
shops Survey, in the year
1676.

Of the Bills of **Mortality**,
and Political Observations
thereon.

Of the Necessity of future
Publick Taxes for the Sup-
port of the **Government**,
and our **Religion**.

Of the Advancement of
the Linen **Manufacture**;
with an Account of the Li-
nen Cloaths, Canvas, Linen-
Yarn, Hemp, Flax, and Cor-
dage, imported into the Port
of *London* from *Holland*, *Flan-*
ders, *Germany*, *France*, *East-*
land, *Russia*, *Scotland*, *East*
Indies, from *Mich.* 1688. to
Mich. 1689.

W I T H
Various **Political Remarks** and Calculations relating
to most parts of **Christendom**.

Shewing likewise
From Natural Causes the Impossibility of the Advancement of
Papery (and consequently the Folly of those that attempt to restore it) in
England: With some Observations on the **Jesuites** Principles favouring
Fraud and Calumny.

T H E R E I N
Also is largely discuss'd that **Papal** Tenet of the Lawfulness
of Burning **Heretical Cities**.

By way of **LETTER** to a Person of Honour.

L O N D O N, Printed, and are to be sold by *Randall Taylor*, near *Stationers-*
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Devon. Jan. 27. 1680.

May it please your Lordship,

I Give your Lordship my most humble Thanks for the honour of yours of the 15th of this Instant, and had waited on you with them in *London*, had not some unexpected Business detained me. It will seem no strange News to your Lordship, if I tell you that I hear that the *Papists* have of late presumed among their *Confidants*, to be very liberal in the mention of their Joys upon the Dissolution of the Parliament. I wonder that *dies diem docens*, after they have found the Splinters of broken Parliaments sticking so long in their sides, and have found that every new Election hath produced Patriots more Zealous for the true Interest of the Kingdom, that is to say, the extermination of Popery, hath not yet taught them that they may well suppose that a new Parliament would shew the spirit of the People with more strength, as the more frequent drawing out the spirit of any Plant in a Still makes the Extract more fine and strong. And methinks a little refreshment of their Memories may let them see that the cold fits that have shook, and the hot ones that have fryed them in the several late Sessions of Parliaments, have not been cured by Dissolutions or Prorogations, but only palliated and respited to the recurring with greater strength, and may represent to them an Ague not cured, but only prorogued by Jesuit's Powder.

But one piece of News that was brought hither from *London*, will (I suppose) seem strange to your Lordship, and which I will be the last man in *England* who shall believe, is, that my Lord Privy Seal can be a Papist. I think it was St. *Augustine*, who meaning well in a pang of Zeal, cry'd out on one occasion, *Credo quia impossibile est*: But I shall both as to the truth of the Popish Religion, and of your Lordships believing it, ground my disbelief on the impossibility of either. When I hear men say, that they look upon it as an exerting of a miraculous Power Divine that the Globe of the Earth hangs in the Ayr without falling, I interrupt not their thoughts of devotion, but know that the Earth which is ballanced by its own weight, cannot fall but it must fall into Heaven, *Cælum undique sursum*: And should any one tell me of your Lordships being unsteady and falling into any gross erroneous opinions in Religion, I who have long observed the constant tendency of your understanding toward the Center of truth, cannot apprehend any danger of your falling from it. So likewise when I hear men impute it to the Divine Benignity that they were not made Flies or Toads, I disturb not the Piety of their thoughts, but know that it was not possible to make me, that is to say, endued as I am with a Rational Soul, to have been a Fly or a Toad; which Creatures by their very Natures are devoyd thereof: And thus tho such a Protestant may turn Papist who hath a gross understanding sway'd by sensual appetites; yet in the condition of that excellent manly understanding of your Lordships which has so absolute a Sovereignty over all brutish inclinations, whereby you and all others whom Heaven hath favour'd with such Endowments, do as much transcend degenerate Mankind as they do Beasts, the errors of Popery must be too gross for you to be able to swallow.

'Tis possible that some of the Agents for *Rome* here finding that your Lordship will not after all their insinuations be theirs, may have instilled it into some that you are so, according to the leud Custom of Gallants to defame the virtue of the *Ladies* they could not corrupt; but 'tis no more possible for your Lordship to believe *Popery* to deserve the name of a *Religion*, after you have surveyed the several parts of it with your penetrating Judgment, unwearied diligence, and the incomparable Candor worthy of a lover of truth, and indeed worthy of your self, then it was possible for Sir *Francis Drake* after he had sailed round the Earth, to believe the Opinions of *St. Augustine* and *Lactantius* who deny'd its rotundity. To celebrate your Lordships accurate knowledge of, and constant Zeal for the Protestant Religion among the happy few that have the honour of your retired converse, were to gild Gold, and to fear the possibility of its appearing upon any *Enquiry* that you are not of that Religion, is to think or fear that Gold can be destroyed.

I have upon my occasional debates with some persons that would make your Lordship a *Papist* whether you will or no, call'd to mind some discourse I had with you long since, concerning your Birth and Education, and thereupon considering the closeness of your Education in the Protestant Religion, have as much wondered at thinking how it was possible for any principles of *Popery* to get into your Mind, as at Wild Beasts getting into Islands. When I consider how the first thoughts of Childhood ripening into Youth, are like the first *Occupants* claiming and generally keeping possession during life, I am apt when I hear of any mans owning a Brutish or Savage Religion, To think of the Egg of such a *Crocodile*, and from what *Animal* it came. And he that shall look back on your Lordships beginning, will find you descended of Noble and Renowned Parents, both by Father and Mother, who likewise were esteemed (as I may say) *Noble Bereans* for searching into the Scripture, and thereupon owning the Protestant Faith: In a word of a whole Family of Confessors, if Sir *John Perrot* Lord Deputy of Ireland your Great Grandfather, your Grandfather *Annesley* an Eminent Commander at Sea, and a principal Undertaker in *Munster* in the Reign of that blessed Queen *Elizabeth*, that great Statesman *Francis Lord Mount Norris and Viscount of Valentia*, a Faithful Servant to the Crown in many great Employments, and among the rest, Principal Secretary of State, Vice-Treasurer, and Treasurer at Warrs in *Ireland* to Two Great Kings of Famous Memory, King *James*, and King *Charles the First*, and the Family of the *Phillipses* of *Pistons* Castle in *Pembrokeshire*, out of which your Mother came, have their just mention in Records and in Story. Your Lordship being born in *Dublin* received there your Name in Baptisme at the Nomination of your Noble Sponsor *Arthur Lord Chichester* and Baron of *Belfast*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland* Eleven Years, and for whose Name the *Protestants* of that Kingdom have still a great Veneration. Your Lordship I remember further acquainted me, That at your age of Ten Years the Scene of your Education was removed to *England*, and that afterward you spent Four Years in *Magdalen Colledge* in the University of *Oxford*, where you enjoyed the Learned Conversation of Dr. *Frewen* then President of that Colledge, and since that *Archbishop* of *Tork*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Williamson*, Mr. *Harris*, Dr. *Drope* yet living and Senior Fellow of that Colledg; and from whom and other Excellent Persons of that University, I have heard that your Lordship was then an Ornament of that place, and an Eminent Proficient in all Academical Learning, and that you there performed Exercise for your Degree with the general applause of that place. And there where you came to that great Mart of Knowledge with so great a stock of Natural Reason, and improved the same with so much Logick, and conversed so many Years

Years with the great Champions of the Church of *England*, I am sure (If I may without affectation use a *School Term*) your Lordship could have no *Motus primo primus* to Popery. I remember that your Lordship told me, That your Noble Father transplanted you thence to the Honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where with unwearied steps your diligence it seems overcame the craggy ascent of the Study of the Common Law of *England*: But where the pleasant height of it Compensated your pain in the way, and gave you not the *Landscap* of one *Valley*, but the *Prospect* of all the Land of the people of *England* beneath it, fenced in with the enclosure of *Property*, of men, (according to the *Scripture* expressions) sitting under their Vines and Fig-Trees, and none making them afraid, where the Pastures are cloth'd with *Flocks*, and the *Valleys* covered with *Corn* that they shout for joy, and sing, where our *Oxen* are strong to labour, and no breaking in, nor going out, and no complaining in our streets; and of a Numerous brave Nation not capable of being enslaved by any Wills or Passions but their own.

And sure where your Lordship learn'd the Science of this Noble Law, that is, a Law of Liberty, your self and your Brethren in that Honourable Society must needs echo back that great exclamation of the *Peers* of *England*, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*, and not endure the servitude of the Law of the Pope, or which is all one, his will.

Yet moreover such was my Lord Mount Norris his Zeal that you might by all means imaginable be confirmed in the utmost detestation of Popery and Arbitrary Government, that he then sent you to Foreign Parts, that you might see those *Monsters* you had here but read of, which occasioned your travelling into *France*, *Savoy*, many parts of *Italy*, and particularly into *Rome* it self, where the superfluity of *Naughtiness* (as the *Scripture* expression is) doth *Nauseate* all Travellers that go thither with their Reasons about them, and are not determined to prefer *Church pageantry* and gawdy nothings before plain demonstration and propositions of *eternal truth*. I have been told that your Father the Lord Mount-Norris his Commands and his Concerns both domestic and publick call'd you from *Rome* to *England* toward the Year 1640: when several Parliamentary Addresses and Remonstrances about the Insolence of the *Papists*, and encrease of their Power and Numbers in *England* had been made. And indeed the Court of that Pious King *Charles the First*, was so beset with them then, or as I may rather say *inlaid*, that my Lord Arch-Bishop *Laud* having sent his Majestie a Letter with the detection of *Popish* designs against his Crown and Life made by *Andreas ab Habernsfeld*, desired his Majesty not to trust his Pockets with the custody of the Letter. The Thunder of the *Parliament* had then at that time so cleared the *Ayr* of *England* from the infection of Popery, that I suppose none will think your Lordship could be then tainted with it. And the *Civil Wars* of *England* afterwards breaking out, when both parties appealed to God for the decision of their cause by the Sword, and Contested with each other in public Declarations, about which of them was the greater enemy to Popery, it had not only been very *impolitic*, but extremely ridiculous for any man at that time, by coming in and pretending to a pretended Religion, to expose himself to the fencing with two enraged multitudes, which would have produced the same effect as would a *Jesuit's* preaching a *Postilling* Sermon here against the Yearly burning of the Pope to the *Populace* employed in that *Solemnity*.

My Lord, I find my self here engulfed in writing a long Letter; and the truth is, having a great concern for your Lordships Honour, I am willing to take pains to satisfy my self exactly, that I may satisfy others so about your being a Friend to the King and Kingdom, a Friend to Mankind, which your being an Enemy to the principles of Popery can only render you, and qualify you

you for lasting Monuments in the hearts of your Friends. 'Tis therefore that I thus trace your Lordships steps on the Stage of the World, wherein if I have erred in any thing, I shall be glad to be set right, but can erre in nothing more than in continuing a Friend to any one that at this time of day designs to advance Popery in *England*. The *Roman Historian* speaking of *Nero*, saith, *Tyrannum hunc per quatuordecem annos passus est terrarum orbis*. And it may truly be said, That *England* formerly has endured the *Popes Tyranny*, and the artifices of his adherents and favourers for some Ages: But the patience of *Man* has bounds, and the propagators of that Religion who have so long maintain'd a *separate Sovereignty here*, the which is like an *Animal* living within an *animal*, will find that as the lesser creature is evacuated by the greater, or destroyed therein, or doth else destroy the greater *animal*, so will it be in the case of their power among us. And I believe that Popery that always would be all or nothing, may shortly have its wish, And I hope come to nothing, by your Lordships being a happy Instrument therein, and that you will live to see, and help to make us as free both from danger and fear of the *Bishop of Rome's power*, as we are from *Prester Johns*. And since we may judge of future things by what hath been, we may well be allowed to expect from your self the same happy influences on our Religion, Government and Liberty we have been formerly blest with in your past life, which hath been a life of *business*, in order to the Worlds quiet, and to that sullen thing called *business*, that thing generally hated by *men of Wit*, have you made your self a *Slave* to secure our *Liberty*, to that have you sacrificed your time, and been (as I may say) Continually hewing at the *annosa quercus* of Popery, that we might not be sacrificed by its foolish *Druids*, whose Religion teacheth them to delight so much in *humane victims*, and to kill men not like *Cannibals* to feed their hunger, but to feed their fancies. The Religion opposite to this, hath your Lordship in the Course of your administration of public affairs, strenuously asserted in times that cannot be thought of without horror, and when you were not *safe guarded by bastions*, but even in the *breach*: 'twas there the Protestant Cause found your Skill and Valour.

When your Lordships Travels were ended, and you had delivered your Noble Father from Persecution, and with the help of the Education he gave you, Saved him by your knowledg of the *Lex terræ* from falling as a prey to Arbitrary Power, and Martial Law in times of peace; and thereby shewed your self both a good Son and great Patriot, the first Scene of public Employment wherein your Lordship appeared with Eminency, was as *Governour of Ulster* by authority under the Great Seal of *England*; a Charge of difficulty, when the Forces from *Scotland* under the Command of *Major General Munro* had so long ruled absolutely there, that the *English* Interest had suffered a great eclipse and diminution. How your Lordship managed Affairs during your Government there, and how by your Councils the most pernicious and potent *Rebel Owen Roe O Neil* was opposed, and his design to swallow up that Province and the Province of *Connaught* disappointed, and the Protestant Interest in both united and encouraged, and under your Conduct and Command the Titular Popish Archbishop of *Tuam* taken and killed, and by the seizure of his Cabinet and Papers, the *Popish* design upon *Ireland* discovered and broken, In due time I doubt not your Lordship will give such further Accompt as may secure Posterity by his Majesties leave, and clearer information from the like attempts from that bloody Party, From that Service your Lordship was upon the ill success of those Commissioners who were first sent to the then *Marquess of Ormond*, employed to make the *Capitulation* with the said *Marquess* then *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, for the Surrender of the City of *Dublin*, and all other Garrisons under his Command, into the

Parlia-

Parliaments hands for securing them from the *Irish Rebels*, who had invested and streightned the same: Which happy work was effectually accomplished by the Articles made with the said Marquess already published to the World; And so the Protestants Interest in that Kingdom made entire, and so considerable that they daily gained ground of the *Confederate Rebels*, till at length they were wholly subdued and vanquished. After those Articles concluded, and reception of the said City and Garrisons, your Lordship was called back into *England*, where being a Member of the *House of Commons*, you shewed your self no less useful to this Kingdom; And have since in Parliament and Council, and other great Employments in both Kingdoms shewed your self an Eminent Instrument both in his Majesties happy Restoration, who entirely trusted you with the Management thereof, and in other great Affairs of State and Government to general satisfaction, being never by those that knew you so much as suspected for Evil Council, or want of Zeal and Faithfulness to your King or Countrey, but every day gaining more the Love and Esteem of Protestants and Patriots, as you had incurred the implacable hatred of the Popish and Arbitrary Factions. I cannot here but observe, That a little before the Kings Restoration, the spirit of the people universally shewing its resentments so strong and vehement against *Lambert* and his *Committee of Safety*, and against all the propounders of projects of Government, that nothing but his Majesties return to the Throne of his Ancestors could quiet the people, and your Lordship then as *President* of the *Council* by your great Witdom Contributing highly to the dispatch of many arduous and intricate Affairs requisite to make that great Revolution without *bloodshed*, when things near their *Center* were moving so fast, it may well be reckon'd among *impossible* things, that your Lordship should now espouse the *Papal* interest, when the Vogue, the Humour, the Sense, and Reason; and Spirit of the People are bent against it, with as keen and strong and general an *antipathy* as can be *imagined*. And when I consider that great real power you had in the Kingdom at that time, testify'd not so much by your *signing* all the great Commissions then for *Military* and *Civil* Employments, as by both the King, and the best and wisest of the people in the Three Kingdoms putting themselves in your hands, and having their eyes chiefly upon you as to the management of the *Political* part of that mighty concern, I cannot but thinking of your Lordship whom thus the *King* and *Kingdom* delighted to honour, apply to you these words in *Valerius Maximus*, where he speaks of *Agrippa Menenius*, whom the *Senate* and *People* chose *Arbitrator* of their differences, and to compose matters between them, *Quantus scilicet esse debuit arbiter publicæ salutis*: Yet as great as this Man was, he could have no *Funeral*, unless the people had by a *pole* given the sixth part of a penny to defray his Funeral Charges: But your Lordships case in one particular seems harder than his, for they who unjustly go to take away your good Name, and to make a *Papist* of you, go about to bury you alive.

Had your Lordship after the Kings Restoration aspired after the power of a *chief Minister*, or suffered any such to be committed to you, you must have took it with the concomitance of universal envy, that hath always in *England* been fatal to such power, *England* having always thought such power fatal to it. 'Tis the power it self of such a *Minister* that is look't on as a popular Nuisance; and tis impossible for such a great Man by raising his power only to what he thinks a moderate height, to keep it secure and lasting. For tho a Steeple be built with firm Stone, great Art, and but with a moderate height, yet are there Clouds charged with Lightning and Thunder, and moving in the Ayr sometimes not higher than the top of such a Steeple, and the *Pyramid* or sharpness of such a Steeple then (as I may say) tapping or broaching such a

Cloud that comes that way, is instantly Burnt and Thundered down; And the Multitude of the *Primier Ministres* adorers, who are always pleasing or troubling him with their sacrifices, do all with sudden confusion leave him when he begins thus to fall, as if Thunder-struck from Heaven.

We find in *Rushworth*, that June the 13th. 4 *Caroli*, it was ordered upon the Question, *That the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, is the cause of the Evils and Dangers to the King and Kingdom.* And we may well suppose, that if a Parliament doth still as one man set themselves against a Monopolist but of one little peddling commodity, that they will look on a *Chief Minister* as one that would, or in effect doth monopolize the Beams of the Sun, I mean the Kings Eye, and as one that alone hath the Kings Ear, and as one that is the great forestaller of the Court-market of preferments.

And happy it is for a *Chief Minister*, that the way of Parliamentary Impeachment hath been in such antient usage, for that rids the people of the outrage of that Minister, and that Minister of the outrage of the people. Our Stories speak How barbarously Cruel the brutish Rabble was to Dr. *Lamb*, called the Duke's Conjuror, and the reason why the people hate those they call Conjurors so much is, because, they think such have a power to hurt their Children or Cattel; and the same reason makes them hate one that they look on as a Kings Conjuror, who they think can hurt their Property, and one who on occasion can raise up Domestick and Foreign Devils to molest them, and especially if he cannot lay those Devils when he has raised them, and who can if he will put the People to charge, and to the danger of starving to feed his familiar spirits. When once the people find by any mans power, the fence of the Law begun to be broken down, they will go in at the gap, and 'tis nothing but the Law that secures a chief Minister, and them against one another. St. *Austin* therefore doth rationally in his *De Civitate Dei*, charge the miserable condition of the Romans on the contempt and breach of their Laws; and saith he, people were promiscuously put to death, not by Judgment of Magistrates, but by Tumults, *Neq; enim Legibus & ordine potestatum, sed turbis animorumq; Conflictibus Nobiles ignobilesq; necabantur.*

Your Lordship therefore when you had been a repairer of the breaches of the Nation, and of the Law therein, and (in the Scripture expression) a restorer of paths to dwell in, as easily and unconcern'd gave up the great depositum of power the King and Kingdom entrusted you with, as ever you restored the least to a private person, and have ever since among the Councillors of your Prince both endeavoured to make your Country safe, by giving Counsel against any Neighbour Nations being too powerful, and to make your self secure by your not grasping more power than you saw in the hands of each of your honourable Colleagues, as well knowing that any single Minister that shall here set up to be a Dispenser of the Sovereign Power, had need either still wear a Coat of Mail and an Iron Brest-plate, or bind the whole Kingdom to the Peace. Your Lordship can hardly look into antient History without meeting Examples of the People like the *Leviathan* playing in the Ocean of their power, and spouting out their censures both with fury and wantonness, when they are dooming the great. You know the *Lacedemonians* did reprimand their *Lycargus* because he went with his head stooping, the *Thebans* accused their *Paniculus* for his much spitting, and the *Athenians* *Simonides* because he spoke too loud, the *Carthaginians* *Hannibal* because he went loose in his garments, the *Romans* *Scipio* because he did snore in his sleep, the *Uticenses* *Cato* for his eating with both Jaws, the *Syllani* *Julius Cæsar* for wearing his girdle carelessly, the *Romans* were angry with *Pompey* for scratching himself but with one finger, and likewise for wearing a garter wrought with Silver and Gold on one leg, saying that he wore such a Diadem
about

about his foot as Kings do on their heads, though yet it seems the only cause of his wearing it was to hide a Sore place there. And in these above-mentioned cases we are not to think that those *Ancient* and *wise* people who thought the rest of the world barbarous, could censure those persons so barbarously for those senseless reasons, but out of a hatred to the persons Censured, were resolved to strike at the first thing they met, how innocent soever in it self, in persons they thought they had reason to represent odious.

A late Great Man, who in a Public Speech in *Parliament* render'd the English tongue as having the Monopoly of the term *good Nature*, found that they had not engrossed the thing when they imagined that his *Ministry* Monopolized much of the Regal power. And another eminent person, afterward a Minister to His Majesty, Suffered as a favourer of the *French*, at whose imprisonment I have heard that the *Louvre* rang with as much joy and triumph as if they had carried the point in a great fight at Land or Sea; and he likewise suffered obloquy as if concern'd in the infamous murder of Sr. *Edmond Godfrey*, from which he was certainly as free as from having killed *Julius Cæsar*: And how far the embroider'd garter about his leg, made him like *Pompey*, Envyed, I know not; But as I said 'tis a chief Ministers power the people of England strike at, who may not be unfitly resembled to *Alexanders Bucephalus*, that would let none but *Alexander* ride him, nor could *Alexander* himselfe do it till by holding him against the Sun he kept him from being frighted with the light of his Shadow. And when one Subject seems to be the representative Shadow of the body of the whole people, the Sight of him frights them so as to make them uneasy to be ruled, And therefore I think his Majesty did rationally provide for the public Security when he signified His pleasure in a Speech in a late *Parliament* about not Ruling us by a single *Ministry*.

I should not wonder if your Lordship were called a *Papist* if you had been the possessor of any such power, that name being now the angriest the people can throw at any one, as it was before the late Warres, when *Archbishop Laud* who had writ so well, and so much against the *Papists*, fell under the weight of that name, But really by the power of that chief *Ministry* he had in the *State of England* after the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And at that time the currant definitions of a *Papist*, and of one who enjoyed *Arbitrary Power* were the same, And the things made convertible, or Devils dancing in the same Circle. And so likewise the *Vouge* at this time obtains among the populace who cannot see through the hard words and things in definitions, and if you ask them *what is a Papist*, they will tell you he is one that is for *Arbitrary Power*, and asking them *what is one that is for Arbitrary Power*, they will say a *Papist*. And in cases where the people do not think fit to begin with Execution, Common Fame goes for proof against such a Minister, and the political whispers of other Great Men who inspire them, goe for demonstrations, and they think knocking down *Arbitrary Power* with *Arbitrary* proof is a good *baculum argumentum ad hominem*, or rather a *Monster* of power, for as such they look on one of the People, who is so by the head higher then themselves. I know none to have observed the constitution and customes of the Government of *Venice* better then your Lordship, and there any one that is but *Arbitrarily affected* (as our term is here, *Popishly affected*) is taken volly before he comes to the ground, or at furthest, at his first rebound, and his head made a Tennis Ball before he comes to be band'd among the people, I mean he is first *Sumonarily* dispatcht, or made away and his plenary process is dispatcht or made up afterward. Your Lordship hath in the course of your travels been there in person, but my eyes have only beheld it as a traveller in Mapps and Authors: one of whom, namely *Boccaline* in his

Raghnagli

Raggnagli di Parnasse Speaking of *Venice* saith that the dreadful Tribunal of the Councel of ten, and the Supream Magistracy of the State-Inquisition, could with three balloting balls, easily bury alive any *Cæsar* or *Pompey* who began to discover himself in that well governed State. And according to the Lawes of that Country any aspirer of the first rate so sunk by the shot of the balloting balls, may be said to be kill'd very fairly, though there was no more Citation in the case then in that of the *Martyrdom of Sir Edmond Godfrey*, who yet according to the principles of the *Canon Law* was likewise killed very fairly. I here allude to the *Style* of the brothers of the blade, who when sworn at a Tryal about one murdered in a *Duel*, usually depose that he was killed very fairly, And indeed I have by a Neighbour of mine, who is a Civilian, been shewn it in a Civil Law Book called the *Second Tome of the Common Opinions, in folio, Book 9. p. 462.* Printed at *Lions*, that *Rebellis impune occidi possit, & tunc demum probari & declarari quod erat rebellis*: And the Canonists do as I am informed by him all agree, that *valet argumentum à crimine læsæ Majestatis seu rebellionis ad heresim*, and with good reason according to the *Papish hypothesis*, for that, he that is a *heretic*; is a *Rebell* or *Traytor* to the *Pope*, and therefore a *Heretic* by that Law may be destroyed before his Process is made. But the Kings of *England*, like those of *Israel*, are merciful Kings, and in the Laws of *England*, *Justice and Mercy* are still saluting each other, and with as much kindness as they can possibly shew without embracing each other to death, and the meanest Commoners Life in *England* becomes not a *forfeit* to the Law, but after a Tryal by his equals; and in this, our Law agrees with that gentleness and equity inculcated by *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis*, Book 3. Chap. 14. *Temperamentum circa captos, s. 3.* where he saith, *Cato Censorius (narrante Plutarcho), si quis servus Capital admisisse videretur, de eo supplicium non sumebat, nisi postquam damnatus esset etiam Conservorum judicio. Quicum conferenda verba, Job. 31. 13.*

I must confess I was very much shock't with one expression used in a long Speech by one of the managers of the House of Commons in the Trial of the *Earl of Strafford*, wherein the saying That Beasts of Prey are to have no Law, was applyed to the *Earl*. I am sure that *Wolfs* and *Boars* are Beasts of the *Forrest*, as well as *Harts* and *Hinds*, and in the Kings *Forrests* where they are in his protection, they are to have Law, and so likewise *Foxes*. To this Metaphor of hunting of men in Parliament, there is an allusion in the printed Letter of *Mr. Alured* in *Rushworths Collections, 4th Caroli*, where 'tis said, That *Sir Edward Cooke* in the House protested, that the Author and cause of all their miseries was the *Duke of Buckingham*, which was entertain'd and answered with a cheerful acclamation of the House, as when one good Hound recovers the scent, the rest come in with a full cry: So they pursued it, and every one came on home and layed the blame where they thought the fault was. But yet by this saying of *Alured*, it seems they thought they were to give him Law; and 'tis a brutish thing to suppose that wild predatory Beasts have in the Kings *Forrests* more protection, and more exemption from being arbitrarily hunted down, than his *Liege people* to whom he is sworn, have in the whole Realm in general, and in his Courts of Justice in particular. That time seemed not so much *ἡγορεῖς νόμον ἀσὸν πλῶν*: But your Lordships knowledge in the Laws of the Land and in the Laws of Nations is so universal and profound, that you can come to no Court in the World, but will either find Law there or bring it: and your great knowledge of the Parliamentary Transactions in all past Ages, cannot but secure you against any apprehensions of not finding Law. For it hath been rarely seen, that a House of Commons has gone to hunt any man down tho with the Law, that was not a *Nimrod* a Mighty hunter of our Laws themselves; and never was the House of

of Peers thought a Court of Rigor and Cruelty, and as the *Tribunal of Casus* was for its dire severity called *Scopulus Reorum*. In the end of the famous Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, the House of Commons foresaw that the Lords would acquit him, and therefore they broke up the Judicial prosecution against him, and proceeded by Bill of Attainder, and shortly after broke in pieces on his Grave the Rule and Standard of Treason they proceeded by, as Heralds break their Staffs at the Funerals of Illustrious Persons, and cast them into their Tombes. Had I been one of that Lords Judges, I should have consented that after he had been hunted so long by the Prosecution for Treason, and was not Judicially convicted of it, he should have had the priviledg of a *Hart-Royal* proclaimed, of which *Mahomet* in his *Forrest Law* speaking, saith, *That if the King doth hunt a Stag he is called a Hart-Royal, and that if he doth hunt a Hart in the Forrest, which by chasing is driven out, and the King gives him over, as either being weary, or for that he cannot recover him, then because such a Hart hath shewn the King pastime, and is also Cervus eximius, and that therefore the King would have him preserved, he causeth Proclamation to be made in the adjacent Villages, that none shall kill, hunt, hurt, or chase him, and hinder him from his return to the Forrest, and ever after such a Hart is called a Hart-Royal proclaimed.* But I think that an *eximius* man impeacht in Parliament and there acquitted, will need no Herald to proclaim his worth, nor his deserving to be restored *in integrum* to the Royal Protection and Favour, when that *his own works have praised him in the gates*, that is, in the Jurisdiction where they were so strictly scann'd. My Lord, if any could prove your Lordship to be a Papist, he need not call that accumulative Treason in you, nor need he go about by torturing the Law to make it confess many Felonies to be one Treason, many Rapes to be one false coining: But Popery in you would be plain down-right, palpable and rank Treason by virtue of the Statute of 23 of *Elizabeth*, Ch. 1. which makes it High Treason for any person in the Dominions of the Crown of *England* to be withdrawn from the Religion then established, to the Romish Religion. That your Lordship hath been bred a Protestant, and been so (as it were) *ex traduce*, there needs no other evidence then the contents of this Letter, and that you have not been withdrawn to the Romish Religion, you have declared by the Series of your *actions* against it, that shew your Mind beyond the power of words: and 'tis by the help of that great Wisdom God has given you, that our *English* World expects that a way may be found how to make it more clearly appear to the eye of the Law when any others have been or are withdrawn to the Romish Religion, a thing perhaps at present of somewhat difficult proof: For without supposing that the Pope can or will give them dispensations to take all Oaths and Tests that can be devised, doth not a reserving some fantastic sense to themselves, make nonsense of all Oaths, and that one word Equivocation make them proof against all other words? Doth not that with them sanctify, or at least justify all other words they can use? May they not on these terms safely swear there is neither God, nor Man, nor Hell, nor Devil, that is meaning, *not in a Mathematical point, or in Utopia, and that they saw not such a Man such a day, that is, not with the eyes of a Whale?* And have not the late dying Speeches of some of these *Impostors*, and particularly Father *Irelands*, shewn us, that in the points of mental reservation and equivocation they persevere in the impudent owning of that which would unbinge the World, and turn humane Society into a dissolute multitude? And do we not believe many to be Papists, who we know have taken the Oaths and Tests? Hath not a Papist some Years since writ of the lawfulness of the taking of the Oath of Supremacy? I speak not this, my Lord; to derogate from the Wisdom of our Ancestors that appointed these discriminations;

nations, and do think that when we have used all the lawful means we can, to know who among us are Papists as certainly as we do what is Popery, and to keep Papists from hurting us and themselves, we ought to acquiesce in the Results of the Providence of God. But what all those means are, tho I know not, yet I am apt to believe that your Lordships comprehensive knowledg of men and things, and of the true interest of the Kingdom hath qualified you to tell your Royal Master and His Houses of Parliament: nor do I believe that the difficulty of either finding out such means and making practicable things be practised will blunt, but rather whet the edg of your Industry in this case, as being of *Quintilian's* mind who Judged that there was *Turpitude* in despairing of any thing that could be done. I think his words are *Turpiter desperatur quicquid fieri potest*. 'Tis certainly the interest of the King and Kingdom that the numbers of the *Papists* here, and especially of those withdrawn from Protestantcy to the Church of *Rome* should be known, in the case of which Apostates, tho it be impossible without seizing on the Papers and Archives of one certain Priest to see the Original Acts of their Recantation of Protestantcy, yet is it most certain and on all hands confessedly true, that Eminent Overt-Acts of abhorrency of Protestantisme are alwayes required at the admitting one who was of that Religion into the bosome of the *Roman Catholic Church*: which any one will be convinced of who reads the *Letter of Cardinal D'Osât to Villeroi* of the 20th of *Octob.* 1603. from *Rome*, where he gives his Opinion against the Queen of *England* being made God-mother at the Baptism of *Madam*. That *Cardinal* who had incomparable skill in the Canon Law, and the knowledg of all the Customs of the Papal See, and who had lived at *Rome* above 20 Years, saith in that Letter, *I account it my duty to write to you freely that that cannot be done without very great Scandal to good Catholicks, nor without the extream displeasure and offence of the Pope.* You presuppose that the Queen of *England* is a Catholic: but Here we know the contrary, tho some believe that she is not of the worser sort of *Heretics*, and that she has some inclination to the Catholic Religion. And I will tell you moreover, that tho she were in her heart of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion as much as the Pope himself, so it is that she having been bred up in *Herefie* and outwardly persisting in it as she doth, she cannot according to the Canons be held for a Catholic in public acts of Religion, till she hath first both viva voce and by writing under her hand abjured all *Herefie*, and made profession of the Catholic Faith. Nor was it ever known, that in the case of any Protestants Apostacy to the Church of *Rome*, any Pope ever dispensed with those Canons, and therefore it may well hence be inferr'd. That if evidence just so much as the Law requires as to such Apostacy be given, that no *superpondium* or proof of overt-acts more then necessary ought to be expected, for that overt Acts almost impossible to be proved, may yet necessarily be presumed: but this by the way. And therefore now further, my Lord, if *fas est ab hoste doceri* be adviseable in the case, as strict Circumstances may be required in the conversion of Papists to our Church, as are in the withdrawing of any from our Church to theirs. Indeed if I were a Member of Parliament, and any one there should be so happy as to invent a way, and propound it whereby the present Lay-Papists in *England* might let us have a Moral Certainty that they neither consented to nor concealed the late Plot, and likewise that they did really detest all those desperate Popish Principles that are fundamentally destructive to the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and that they would harbour no Priests born in the Kings Dominions, nor send any of their Children to be bred in Forrain Seminaries; and on the contrary, that on occasion they would discover to a Magistrate any such Priest, or one who sent his Children to such Seminary, and likewise any one that owned any of those

those Pernitious Principles that strike at the heart of the Civil Government, and that they would presently give his Majesty an account of all their own Names, Places of abode, and Numbers of their Families, and that they would not live, in nor come to the Court, nor into any of our Cities or great Towns, without leave obtain'd pursuant to the Statute of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, Ch. 2. (wherein 'tis Enacted under several Penalties, That they shall not remove above Five miles from their dwellings, and to give in their Names to the Constables, Headborough, and Minister, &c.) and that the people might be delivered not only from any danger by them, but any fears that might fall on a wise man, either of their power or numbers encreasing, I should joyfully entertain such an invention; But what way of that kind is practicable, I am altogether ignorant, But do suppose that the present Lawes, Oaths, and Tests, ought to continue till with the Consent of His Majesty and Lords and Commons in Parliament we are further secured.

I know that we ought to be much more vigilant over *English Papists*, then over any Forrainers, for that 'tis a kind of a Rule that *Angli nil modicum in Religione possunt*, and therefore that no *Popish Priest* who is a Subject to *England* can with the public safety live here. Your Lordship hath I think as comprehensive a knowledg of the affairs of *Ireland*, as any man can have, and therefore I shall here tell you that a Gentleman of *Ireland* told me that in the times of the usurpt powers 'twas in the *Act of Settlement for Ireland* by the Parliament declared, that it was not their intent after almost a National Rebellion to extirpate the whole *Irish Nation*, but that after an exception of certain persons as to Life and Estate, the Act orders some *Irish* to be banish'd the Kingdom, and other *Irish* to be transplanted to some part of *Ireland*, allowing them such proportion of Land and Estate there as they should have had of their own elsewhere in *Ireland* if they had not been removed. What effect that Transplantation had I know not, but I suppose it easier to remove a handful of men from one corner of the Land to another, then 'twas to remove almost a Nation: And do suppose there are some *Papists* in *England* as innocent of this late Plot, as there were some in *Ireland* of that Rebellion. The *Dean of Canterbury* doth in his incomparable Sermon before the House of Commons on the 5th. of November 1678 acknowledg the Piety and Charity of several persons who lived and dyed in the Roman Communion, as *Erasmus*, *Father Paul*, *Thuanus*, and many others who had in truth more goodness then the Principles of that Religion do either incline men to or allow of. And so I think my self bound in justice to Judge in that manner of some *Papists* of my acquaintance. Thus the *Epicureans* of old tho their Principle of making happiness consist in pleasure was detestable, gained this point, that many of their Sect were honest men: And so much *Tully* acknowledged to be true, but with a *Salvo* to his exception against their Doctrine. Speaking of *Epicurus* and his Followers, L. 2. *De Finibus Boni & Mali*: he saith, *Ac mihi quidem videtur quod ipse vir bonus fuit, & multi Epicurei fuerunt & hodie sunt, & in amicis fideles, & in omni vita constantes & graves, nec voluptate, sed officio consilia moderantes*. It seems to me that *Epicurus* was a good man; and many of his Sect have been and are faithful in their friendships, and constant and serious men in every condition of life: and managing the conduct of their lives by duty and not pleasure. But then saith he, *hoc videtur major vis honestatis, minor voluptatis*: and afterwards he saith, *atque ut ceteri existimantur dicere melius quam facere, sic hi mihi videntur melius facere quam dicere*: As much as if he had said, No thanks to their Principles, but their honest inclinations, the force of honesty shew'd it self more Predominant in them, then that of pleasure: and as other mens Principles are accounted better then their Practises, these mens Practises are better then their Principles.

It is I think Gods standing Miracle in the world, (who is able to make a divulsion between the formal and the vital Act, namely, to make fire not burn) to keep some men from undoing themselves and Mankind by the genuine consequences of the Opinions they profess in matters of Religion: And thus it is happy for the World, that *Caliginosa nocte premit Deus nepotes discursus*: And he can by an Omnipotent easiness when he pleaseth, Divert a mans understanding from seeing any first-born consequence from his opinion, as well as a more remote one. Moreover, the Divine Power doth in the Government of the World interpose it self sometimes between professed Notions or Principles themselves, and mans intellectual faculties. Good men sometimes do not believe even the existence of that and of some other divine Attributes, where the things to be believed are to be seen by the light of Nature; And bad men habituated to lying sometimes do at last believe the lyes and shamms themselves made, though yet for the most part it happens (what is perfectly worthy of the Divine Power and goodness) when men are with Candor and purity of mind seeking after Truth, that Heaven does so influence their understandings, as that they are not by false lights artificial seduced to believe any thing against the light of Nature, nor given up by weak arguments to strong delusions. These things considered, I think that that great Divine of our Age, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, hath with a Noble modesty and charity in the Title of his unanswered and unanswerable Book against Popery, exprest the Principles of that Religion *when really believed* to be pernicious.

And having said all this, I need not trouble your Lordship or my self much further about finding a way to prevent the *Papists* from troubling us, but do suppose that the *Papists* themselves are most concerned to labour in such an invention. And instead of their being led by any hellish Principles to destroy any City of Course by Sinister means, That is by burning it, they may, if they please, in their Devotion, address to Heaven for that favour to its old chosen People on Earth mentioned in *Psal. 107. v. 7. And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a City of Habitation.* I suppose, that after so eminent a Person as the Lord High Chancellor of England in his Speech at the Condemnation of the Lord Stafford, made that great interrogation, *Does any man now begin to doubt how London came to be burnt?* and after the Vote of the last Parliament the last day of their Sitting in these words, *viz. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this House, That the City of London was burnt in the Year 1666 by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom,* they will not think it strange that they should not be permitted to live in any of our Cities again, till they have shew'd how orderly they can live in one of their own: And therefore I think we may without breach of Civility, or at least violation of justice, apply to them some part of the words which I find quoted by Dr. Bramhall Lord Bishop of Derry in his just vindication of the Church of England, out of *Gerf. part. 4 Ser. de pace & unit. Græc.* as the farewell Speech to the Bishop of Rome, when the *Græcian* and all other Eastern Churches parted from him, whom they acknowledged only as a Patriarch, Namely, *We acknowledge your Power, we cannot satisfie your Covetousness, live by your selves.*

How it is in the case of the People of Switzerland, *Papists* and *Protestants* living apart by themselves in several Cantons, cannot be unknown to your Lordship: Nor that the *Protestants* and *Papists* when they there made their League at first joyntly to maintain their Liberties against the House of Austria, then agreed upon this also, That if any of the Natives living in the Cantons of either side should change their Religion, that then they should be permitted respectively to sell their goods and transplant themselves to the

Canton

Canton whose Religion they embraced. But I shall tell your Lordship, That of late the *Popish Canton Switz* did break this agreement, and would not suffer some of their Native Inhabitants to partake of this freedom, and did confiscate the goods of some Families that changed their Religion, and at the instigation of the *Fryars* and *Jesuits* they condemned some of them to death, and others to the *Gallyes* which was the cause of a Commotion among them.

The Gentleman of *Ireland* who discours'd somewhat to me of the *Transplantation* of the *Irish Papists*, told me, it was into the *Province of Connaught*, and I think into the In-land parts of that Countrey, for to have trusted them to live in Maritime Towns there, whereby they might have let in an invading *Popish* or other Forrainger, were to have trusted them with the power of the *Keys* of the Kingdom: And he further told me, That the transplantation was managed with much satisfactory tenderness to those *Papists*, and that as to *English* and *Irish*, it had partly the nature of a bargain that gave content on both sides, and secured them against each other after all the mutual exasperations that had pass'd, and when 'twas fresh in the memory of both *English* and *Irish*, that 'twas the promiscuous and scatter'd dwelling of the *English* among the *Irish* before the Rebellion that tempted the *Irish* to butcher them, and made the *English* Sheep for the Slaughter; and when it was not likewise forgot, that in former Wars the partition or distinction of the *English Pale* did secure the *English* inhabiting within its district.

I askt the Gentleman if they were not stinted to a certain number of *Priests*, and care taken that none of them should be *Jesuits*, and that the chief Governour of the Countrey should know their Names, and whether any *Priests* Natives of that Countrey were allow'd them? as to which enquiries he did not fully satisfy me: but I supposed, that since all Religions have a Priest-hood, that somewhat of that kind was allowed them, and that since the Order of the *Jesuits* was invented in the Year 1540. by the *Pope* as a Poysonous *Stumm* to put a new fermentation into the Romish Ecclesiastical Rites and Discipline, which were almost dead with age; and like *vina vetustate edentula*, and quite dispirited with the Thunder of the Doctrine of *Luther*, and the lightning of Learning and Knowledge then flying through the World; and that that Order of the *Jesuits* was (as it were) a Court erected to begin with execution, and to confute gainfayers by cutting their Throats, No *Jesuits* were permitted to officiate among those transplanted *Papists*, and considering that the *Priests* Natives of *Ireland* were the known fomenters of that Rebellion, that both *English* and *Irish* might rather consent to some Secular *Priests* bred in *Holland* or *France*, being employed in the New *Irish* Colony, and who had no knowledge of the *Intrigues* of the several Interests in that Country, and would not by kindred or relation to any of the great Families there perhaps be tempted into Factions.

I have heard from that Gentleman of *Mr. Peter Walsh* a *Fryar* in *Ireland* and of his endeavours in the Art of *Cicuration* of some of the Romish Clergy & Layery who there were Wolves (and that without Sheeps cloathing) and reclaiming them to Principles and Practices consistent with civil Society, and what proficiency his Disciples have made therein, I being a stranger to that Kingdom know not; but according to that saying, *bonus est quem Nero odit*, have the better opinion of him for those endeavours of his having been Crown'd with the *Popes* Excommunications.

It was a noble saying, I have heard of one of the House of Peers this last Parliament, *I hate not the persons of any Papists, but I am an enemy to Popery*: In like manner I should be glad that all the Mercy were shewn them that were not Cruelty to the Public; but they are to excuse any one that will not forget

that when they begun the last outrageous Rebellion in *Ireland* (which no words need or can aggravate) they enjoy'd there equal Priviledges with the *English*, if not greater, the Lawyers were *Irish*, most of the Judges *Irish*, and the Major part of the Parliament *Irish*, and in all disputes between *English* and *Irish*, the *Irish* were sure of the Favour; and any one would be inexcusable to this Kingdom, who forgot that *King James's* unparallel'd kindness to his Popish Subjects in suspending the execution of Penal Laws against them, in sparing their purses, in remitting the arrears of what they owed *Queen Elizabeth* for pecuniary penalties, nay giving into their hands what money of theirs as his due was in the Exchequer, was but the Prologue to their intended Tragedy on the Fifth of *November*. And what provocations they had to be ill wishers to the Life and Crown of the last King, as appeared by the detection forementioned presented to His Majesty by *Arch-Bishop Laud*, and a Charge given against them in Print by the Reverend *Dr. Peter Du Moulin*, which he offer'd to make good; and *ad quod non fuit responsum*, let any one Judge who further does look on the Parliaments Addresses in *Rushworths Collections*. And unless some of them had loved ingratitude for ingratitude's sake, they would never have enter'd into that Conspiracy against his now Majesty, whose Life is the delight of all Mankind but theirs: And yet since according to that expression, that God is not the God of the *Jews* only, but also of the *Gentiles*, so it being true, that the King is King of the *Papists* as well as *Protestants*, King of the *Irish* as well as of the *English*, and a common Father to them all, it may be worthy of His Royal goodness and a God-like thing in him to distribute to them all the Kindness that would not undo themselves and others, as the Divine bounty dispenseth itself to the Sinful, yet with respect to the Government of the World. And as the love of an Indulgent Father may be measured more by the kindness he would shew an obstinate son, (were he qualified to receive it) then by what he doth, who tries all methods to reclaim him, by his Will Disinherits him, and goes down to the shades below without revoking such a Will, and yet in his life-time with the tenderest bowels and softest language he was constantly bemoaning that Sons being not a Subject fit or capable to participate in the Estate equally with his Brethren; Thus too may the love of the *Pater Patria*, and of the Country it self be demonstrated to these our obstinate Brethren, more by the Favour we do not afford them, then by what we do, having often seen the truth of what *Solomon* saith, that the *prosperity of fools destroys them*.

But, as I said before, I would be glad that the *Papists* themselves would try to find out what way of security the Wisdom of His Majesty and His great Council may acquiesce in, so that any bitter way may not be prescribed to them by public Authority, as perhaps this of Transplantation or some other may seem, and that persons of innocent Tempers and Principles may not be carry'd off, with those of noxious ones, as all strong purging Physic dispossesteth the body of some good Humours as well as bad: and I therefore wish, that they may rather satisfy His Majesty that they have transplanted into their minds some such Principles as are to be found not only in Protestant but Heathen Authors to incline men to be *Gods* and not *Devils* to one another, (and those Principles growing in the Soil of Nature when transplanted into the mind of a Christian, are much more generous and improved, like the Vines on the *Rhine* transplanted into the *Fortunate Islands*) and whereby a *Protestant* King may Sit securely in His Throne, and His *Protestant* Subjects sleep securely in their houses, and walk securely in the Streets without fear of the fate of *Sir Edmond Godfrey* and *Mr. Arnold*, pursuing them upon a declaratory sentence that they are *Hereticks*, by a shabby Consult of a few ignorant *Priests*

in a blind *Cabaret*, without citing them to show cause why they should not be knock't on the head by Villains who account themselves the Popes *Sheniffs*, and at the worst that happens to them his *Martyrs*, a fate of Protestants worse then they suffered in the *Dog-days* of *Queen Maryes Reign*, (that *Canicula Persecutionis* as *Tertullian's* phrase is) for then they were not murder'd; but after a Tryal for their Lives and Liberty granted to recant at stake. Me thinks when they consider the Popes Decree made at Rome the second of *March* 1679. condemning some Opinions of the *Jesuits* and other *Casuits*, (the which in Latin and English was printed for *Richard Chiswell* at the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Pauls Church-Yard* 1679.) and see thereby that the *Augcan Ståble* of the *Casuits* being so full of Filth that it could hold no more, the Pope to avoid the scandal of the World, and danger to those Souls who by the practice of those Opinions were not at that time sent to the place from whence there is no Redemption, (though yet as the excellent Author of the Preface to that decree here printed judiciously observes, That the Pope treats those Opinions very gently and mercifully, and indeed doth not declare them ill in themselves, or such a Nuisance to souls that he could not dispence with) and when they likewise consider that most of those Opinions if not all were *Rules* allow'd by *Jesuits* or other *Casuits* for *Confessors* and *Penitents* to go by in the securing of the great concern of Eternity till that time, and that *Guymenius* with the approbation and permission of his Superiors in the year 1665. favours most if not all of those Opinions with a colourable gloss out of Councils, Fathers; School-men and Divines, and endeavours to throw off the *Odium* from the *Jesuits* for them, upon the whole *Roman Church*, they should now be so awaken'd as thoroughly to examine both those and other points in that Religion, supposing that some future Pope may declare the Souls left in the lurch that hold some other Opinions recommended to them by their Spiritual guides, without their having obtained a papal dispensation to hold them.

My Lord, though I believe your Lordship to have ever had as keen an Antipathy against *Caballing* with any *Papists* as good old *Jacob* shewed he had against that with *Simeon and Levy*, of which he said, *O my soul come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly, mine honour be not thou united*, yet their necessary applications to your Lordship in your administration of the *Privy Seal* and their voluntary recourse to the hospitality of your noble and constant Table, where any one in the habit of a Gentleman is allowed to be your Guest, giving you opportunities of discoursing, sometimes with *Papists*, I suppose your advice to them to consult with one another in peace how to satisfy His Majesty, that all bloody Consults being by them abandon'd, he himself may enjoy the *Kings peace*, and we his Subjects enjoy that *Peace of the King* which his very Wild Beasts in the Forrest enjoy, (as I said before) and where any of the Inhabitants if they have lights in their Windows that may affright the Kings Deer are lyable to punishment by the Forrest law, and that we being delivered from the hands of our Enemies, may serve God without fear in holiness and righteousness all the dayes of our Lives, and not be in danger of being in the Kings High-way knock't on the head like *Weasels* or *Polecats* by base *Russians* not worthy to feed the Dogs of our Flocks; I say I suppose your Lordships advice backt with those reasons against Popery that you alwayes carry ready told, may especially at this time when the *ecce duo gladii* or two Votes of the House of Commons in the last two Parliaments cannot be forgot by any of them, occasion their offering that to the consideration of His Majesty and his great Council, that may render the Kingdom safe from any hostility of their Principles or Practices. Your Lordship hath one advantage in giving advice beyond most men I know, and perhaps no man

man is Master of that advantage more then your Lordship, and that is your advice to any of Mankind, is the advice of a friend; for both by your natural temper, and a habit that can plead the prescription of sixty years for its continuance in your Soul, and a sharpe edge of Wit and Reason to justifie your claim to it, so it is, that you are in a constant readines to shew your self a friend to every Member of that great Body, wishing his happiness as your own, extending the arm of your beneficence as far as it can reach, to the remotest object without hurting your self by the straining it, with a pitying Eye and a tender Hand, and forgiving Heart, guiding unhappy men out of the very Labyrinths they had brought themselves into by injuring you, accounting your mercy to be justice to Humane Nature, adorning greatness both in your self and others with goodness, in the case of the injur'd poor and weak making oft the great and the mighty asham'd of their oppression by your reason (and alwayes with Language as soft as the yoke they intended was hard) when you could not make them afraid of it by your power; and blushing your self for the degeneration of Mans Nature, when you saw any that shame could not divert from the turpitude of injuring their brethren of mankind, and by your compassion alleviating that burthen of the miserable that they had sunk under but by your Fellowship in their grief, and never dispensing either the Kings reproof or your own to offenders without moderation, and respect to the frail state of Humanity, and without that mixture of benign advice that gave the *Malheureux* a plank after the Shipwrack of their Fame, and very often running the hazard of downing your self by helping to save those that were sinking in the Favour of the King and Court, and when their fate was such that all the rest of the herd avoided them as a wounded Deer. In a word they that know your Lordship know that by arguments hard to be answered and a softness of words and Temper almost inimitable you have Profelyted several *Papists* out of their pernicious Principles, and have taught them goodness by your example, and by your having that happy inclination that *Hillel* a Famous Jewish Doctor who lived a little before our *Saviours Incarnation* so well advised, Namely *Be of the Disciples of Aaron, who loved Peace, and followed Peace, and who loved Men, and brought them near to the Law.*

Your Lordship by your being so well vers'd in our Statute Laws and Histories is able to acquaint them with the Justice of our Ancestors in the making of many fresh additional capital Laws (for sanguinary they ought not to be called since just) against *Papists* upon the detection of several fresh horrid Treasons, & particularly those against *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*, and that our Ancestors then having a great and violent indignation against Popery and *Papists* made Laws with the dread of the *Ultimum supplicium* therein, and further the anger of Man could not go. But it cannot scape your Lordships observation that the violence of Passion not being capable of lasting long in its highest rage how just soever and especially in the brest of an English Man and a Protestant, those hot Statutes made only (as I may say) a *hizzing* like a little fire thrown into Water, and as to their Execution went out presently. Nor have I ever heard of any one that apostatiz'd from the Church of *England* to that of *Rome* who was as those Statutes ordain punisht as a Traytor, merely for so doing. And indeed since no Stratagems are to be used twice and especially such as did not succeed once, I am highly pleased that on the Discovery of the late detestable Plot there was so great a calmness in the minds, so general a smoothness in the brows of the people, such an universal Spirit of Patience forbearance and meekness every where visible in their Faces, even greater then that which shone in the Minds and Faces of the *Londoners* when with composed looks they saw their City newly made ashes, and had smelt the

the *Incendiaries* almost as soon as the Fire, that none can imagine but who as eye witnesses observed; And even on the fifth of *November* ensuing the Discovery of the Plot, the two excellent *Preachers* desired to preach before the House of Lords, and the House of Commons on that day when both an *Old* and a *New* Plot were itaring the Nation in the Face, happen'd to be with the Peaceable *Genius* of the *Christian Religion* and of the People in that *Conjuncture* inspired in the choice of that same part of *Scripture* that was their *Text* and contain'd the calm yet severe reproof given by the *Founder* of Christianity to some of his *Disciples* that would have been Commission'd to call for Fire from Heaven to consume the inhospitable *Samaritans*, in one of which Sermons, namely that of the *Dean of Canterbury's*, 'tis for the Honour of our Nation and Religion by him observed p. 31. of the Sermon, that after the *Treason* of this day, nay at this very time since the Discovery of so barbarous a design, and the highest provocation in the World by the Treacherous murder of one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace a very good man and a most excellent Magistrate who had been active in the Discovery of this Plot, I say after all this and notwithstanding the continued and insupportable insolence of their carriage and behaviour, even upon this occasion, no violence, nay not so much as any incivility that I have heard of has been offer'd to any of them. Thus for the words of this good and learned man.

He that loves not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And the Religion that prompts them to destroy our bodies that they see, makes them fearless in the damming of our Souls that they have not seen, and even without giving us a minutes warning to make up our accounts with God, and that too perhaps for extravagant lenity shew'd to some incorrigibles among them, which was poor *Godfreys* case. But the calm temper of the Protestants to them upon the Discovery of the Plot not breathing out any Cruelty or new Severity against their Bodies or Souls shall always endear to me the Protestant Religion.

And though those two great Votes of the House of Commons may seem severe to the *Papists*, yet are they warning pieces only if they please, and not murdering ones, and like the Arrows of *Jonathan* to warn *David* and not to hurt him; And indeed only to warn them not to kill *David*, and not to hurt themselves, and in effect a reasonable request or petition of two Parliaments to them only to make much of themselves, and like the lenity that accompanied the Divine threatening of *moriendo morieris* restrain'd to their eating of one tree, so that no Flaming Swords need fence up their way from the Tree of Life unless they please.

But though the Spirit of the people hath not on the occasion of the late Plot shew'd its angry resentments against the persons of the *Papists* by any outrage or rudeness, and though our Parliaments have not on that occasion as those in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* made the Anger of the Statute Book to swell with many Acts of Parliament against them, they are not to infer that therefore the anger of the people diffusive or representative is over, but rather the contrary; from its not having appeared violent. And indeed as that heat of the body that is acquired not by an approach to a blazing fire, but gradually by gentle exercise of the parts is most lasting and most agreeable to its constitution, so is it with that heat of popular anger that is the Result of the exercise of mens mindes and of several laboured intense thoughts most durable and salutiferous to the body of the Kingdom. It hath been observed by a Man of no vulgar intellectual Talents *Mr. Philip Nye* (a Man indeed of great Sagacity in his Generation) as I find it in his Book called *Beams of former Light* viz. *We know that in near a hundred years the Reformation gained little upon Popery and Superstition more then was gotten by*

the first assault, nay it decay'd and Popery grew under it so fast as at last we were almost returned into the same condition that we were reformed from, and this (he sayes) may be the cause why the first Reformation prospered no better, there were the like severe, impositions and Laws made upon occasion of difference among the Protestants and then advantages were taken thereby, and many put out of the Muster-Role for Nonconformity who were of greatest courage and most faithful Resolution against Popery and Superstition the then common Enemy. The silencing and ejection of Ministers in Queen Elizabeths dayes, reformation being newly begun and the Enemies to it many, the friends and those that faithfully engaged few, was looked on by the godly prudent of that age as very unseasonable, yea tho their crimes had deserved it, because of the scarcity of Preachers at that time. There is nothing more frequent in our Suffering Brethrens writings that were then published against the Hierarchy then a bemoaning the great loss to the cause and people of God thereby. I will mention but one, considering the season (saith Mr. Parker) though we were worthy, yet should we least be deprived now when Popery riseth like the swellings of Jordan, yea maketh invasion like an Armed man, when there are wanting many on the other side in many Parishes to stand up in the gap against it.

Doth not the Canon Law it self spare depriving for greater faults when there is *penuria sacerdotum* & *quando utilitas ecclesie exigit*. Thus far Mr. Nye, who whether he has assigned *non causam pro causa* or no, as to the Vigorous encreasing of Popery after the Reformation, I shall not say, and shall forbear even with the tenderest and gentlest hand to touch the sore place of the differences among Protestants till we are secured against the Rough hands of any *Esaws touching Gods Anointed*. Nor shall I now debate of which perswasion among Protestants should strike Sail to the others, till we have put off the Fire-ship that hath grappled us, but shall here say that I think one cause why the Protestant Religion hath not since its first assaults against Popery gained ground of it proportionably was what is necessarily incident to humane Nature, and even in the most generous, and particularly English Spirits after a great overflowing of passion to find in themselves the lowest ebb to succeed the highest tide, and our boyling blood to be the more dispirited afterward by reason of its former heat, and for us instantly to fall asleep when our spirits are taken off from the wrack that passion extended them on, and to try to recruit our spirits again by the passion of *Pitty* or *Shame* which we had wasted by that of *Anger*, like men that after one excess refresh themselves by another. And as the great expenses of War which is the passion of *Anger* raging in the body of a whole Nation, Necessarily at last end in a peace that continues till mens plenty blow them up into War again, so doth the spending and wasting the Treasure of our Spirits by *Anger* necessitate us into a quiet, that lasts till being thereby recruited we are again capable to take Fire from a fresh provocation and to trouble our selves and others; But as men grow older and wiser they grow abler to moderate their passion of *Anger*, and make it like Fire, not a bad Master but good Servant to themselves and the Public, not a Fire that acts as natural agents *ad extremum virium* and so as anger acts and rests in the bosom of fools (who are so far natural agents only as not guided by reason) but as in the Breasts of the Wise, where reason rests and makes all passions as its Messengers and Ministers, not unressembling what is said of the most High that he makes his Ministers a flame of Fire, and so by God-like men who love others like themselves, their passion of *Anger* is made like a Guardian Angel to themselves and others: and by thus according to that precept being angry and sinning not, the fire of *Anger* in the Protestantes here against Popery having long been light and restless, is at last got to its proper Element where it doth not Levitate and where it hath no burning but only a purifying

purifying quality, and thus the *hatred* of the English Protestants against Popery maybe said to be as the Scripture expression is, *a perfect hatred*, being now come to its height and proper *Element*, which perfect *Hatred* to Popery, may always consist with a perfect love to Papists, and cinge not a hair of their heads more then a *Lambent Fire*.

But your Lordships particular Zeal in the promoting that Bill brought into the House of Lords and which there passed, namely *for the keeping Papists 20 miles from the Court* shews that there may be another cause assigned of the advantages that papists have gained in several junctures of time since the Reformation, and that is their having possess'd by artifices, such an interest at Court in the times of former Princes. The Papists chose then like *Spiders* to make their Nests in Kings Pallaces, and there to weave and spin their designs where the Roofs were too high for the Law to reach to sweep them away.

The *Nerves* in the head are no more in proportion or bulk then those in any other part of the body, and yet they are of far greater efficacy or energy, and give the Laws of motion to the whole body; and how far the Papists had the advantage of this position in the times of King James and afterwards, and how thereby they influenced the whole body of the Kingdom *Rushworths Collections* do enough express. Though the Papal Excommunication was then a *brutum fulmen* and the effects of it were ridiculous, yet the effects of their *aurum fulminans* and of the *sinistrum fulmen* as *Tully's* phrase is, and the *obliquy via fulminis* as *Seneca's* expression is were dreadful. Poor *Luther* could say *valde protestatus sum me nolle sic ab eo satiari*, Supposing that God Almighty had offer'd to give him Gold, but England had then those Protestants who protested that nothing but that would satisfy them, whether offered by God or the Devil. Notwithstanding the perfect zeal of those our Princes for the Protestant Religion, yet could their Royal endeavours no more eradicate Popery then the power of *Solomon* prevent there being in his time *nothing but oppression under the Sun*. And there was then another sort of Lightning that made its way into the hearts of some Subjects, and that was what was darted from the bright Eyes of Forraign Popish-Ladies, and which was then very prevailing among some Favorite Courtiers, whose fancies *Englands* constant Magazine of Native Beauties could not satisfy, and by that vehicle of Generation was the poyson of Popery with more strength then conveyed to mens spirits.

I have heard of a Tutor, who seeing his Scholar reading a Learned Book of Geometry writ by a *Jesuit*, did with great gravity advise him to read *only Protestants Mathematicks*.

The History of *Bala* King of *Moab* is not unknown to any. He being afraid of the Power and Numbers of the *Israelites*, hired *Balam* a famous Sorcerer, and look't on as infallible in his *Benedictions* and *Curses* (as I may say) to *Excommunicate* them from the Divine Protection, and to anathematize them, who finding, that tho' he had took his bribe to pronounce the sentence of excommunicating *Israel*, he was so Tongue-ty'd by Providence, that he could not do it; he was resolv'd he would not take his fee for nothing, and he contrives that subtle Stratagem to effect their mischief; and to devest them of that Divine Protection that was their greatest Strength, he gives this Council to the *Moabites*, that smothering their hatred of *Israel* with pretensions of Peace, the fairest of their Daughters should be sent among them to inveigle them with their beauty, first to Corporal and then to Spiritual Whoredom, Namely Idolatry; and that mischievous Counsel took with a vengeance, and as one of our Reverend Bishops in a printed Sermon on that Subject saith, *And now may Balac save his money, and Balam spare his pains:*
those

those two things will bring a Curse without the help of a Conjuror: and thus they brought themselves under that wrath and Curse which neither the great Neighbouring Princes by their power, nor their wisest Counsellours by their Policy, nor Balam himselfe by his Sorcery, could bring upon them. It had been happy for them if they had kept to their *Israelitish Mathematicks*, whereby the design of that *Pagan Mathematician* had been spoyl'd. There was then another way by which Popery got ground (as some say) and gain'd power too, and that is by Papiests obtaining preferment. *Cotton's Posthuma* mention'd in the last discourse there save one, that one of the late Kings Ministers had Ministers under him, who were *Popishly affected*, and that it was much talked of that he advanced such men in the Camp in places of nearest service and chief Command, and that the Papiests had got of late years more of Courage and Assurance then before, and that by his Power.

I have not, my Lord, heard whether that *Bill* I mention'd about the hindring all papiests from coming within 20. Miles of the Court passed the House of Commons or no; or if it did not, what obstructed it: But here I shall say, that I think it concern'd the Papiests themselves to sollicit the passing of that *Bill*, and to promote any Expedient that might make themselves and others safe and at ease in the World, by putting them in proper places, as accordingly we see in Nature, that the *Elements* do neither *Gravitate* nor *Levitate* in their proper places. And were I for my Life to give the Papiests the best advice I could for their own preservation in the Kingdom, it should be their using all means possible to convince the world, that they affected nothing of a Power to offend Protestants in this Kingdom, that they aimed at no such thing, and that they had saved *Acts of Parliament* and *Proclamations* the labour of sending them away from the Court and our chief City, and that they did no more aim at Superiority over the Protestant Interest here contrary to the Laws in being, then the *Nation* of the *Jews* here doth, who think themselves safe under the Bulwark of the Candor of the *English Nation*. I remember I heard it from an eminent Person, that he being at *Constantinople* that several thousands of *Jews* were ordered by the *Grand Signior* to remove from one place in his Country to another by a time prefixt, and that he observing a little before they were to begin their journeying (and that all in a body together,) they desired that a *Janizary* might be allowed to conduct them and to guard them against any little insolences from the Boys and Children in their march, did to one of their *Rabbies* in *Constantinople* upbraid that foolish desire of the Thousands of his Country-men to be in that case convoy'd by a single *Janizary*, and that the *Rabbi* reply'd to him, That that was in them (as he call'd it) a wise piece of folly, and a design to secure the *Grand Signior* and his Vassals from any apprehensions of the *Jews* desiring power to molest them. *Aufer ut uterque securius dormiat*, was said by the *Stoic* to him that was taking away his Riches in the Night. I am sure I shall never repine at it, if ever there should be a due or legal relaxation of any penalties that may seem sanguinary in making their Purfes bleed, but shall be content with its being out of their Power to cut our Purfes or our Throats in *ordine ad spiritualia*; and tho perhaps to advise any hot Spurs among them to part with Power, may seem *durus sermo*, as much as cutting off a Right hand that has long offended themselves and others; yet if it shall appear that by that means they will secure all the Hands and Hearts of Protestants thereby for their defence, they will gain more then *Cent per Cent* in the Exchange, as those who in our Saviours time forsook Houses and Lands for him, did according to his promise gain a Thousand Fold by it in this life, by the Houses and Lands of all other Christians then being at their service. It is chiefly by the abrenunciation, the study'd and labour'd declining of Power, that the *Jews* almost

most in all Countreys Christian and Pagan are welcom Guests, tho yet by their frugal living they Generally under-sel the Natives every where. Mankind hath such a sharp regret against Plotting the Ruine of any company of men who are harmless and useful to the World, and in whom nothing but a Tame Humble quiet innocence appears, that on the contrary they study to be their Protectors, to be their Guards, their Watchmen, and men thinking God to be like themselves, they think such people are Heavens care too. Therefore in the 88th. *Advertisement of Boccalin's Ragguagli, the Sheep sending their Embassadors to Apollo, desiring that they may be allowed to have sharp Teeth and long horns, and not seem abandon'd by that Divine Charity that hath given offensive as well as defensive arms to hurtful animals, by whom they often Suffered, and sometimes by their very Shepherds who in Sheering them would cut their Skins, Apollo told them, that no Beasts were so much the Favorites of him and of men as they, for that whereas others with great anxiety were forced in the Night, the time of rest and sleep, to seek their Food, that they could not do with safety in the day, Men the Lords of the Earth bought at dear rates pasture grounds for Sheep, and that the men did make Nets, feed Dogs and lay snares for hurtful Beasts, they employed Shepherds and Dogs to guard Sheep, and that no Shepherds could deal ill with their Flocks without being chiefly cruel to themselves, and that therefore their security lay in not being able to fright their Shepherds.*

Thus every one is naturally abhor'd who attacks a Naked man, and from such a one Lions themselves either through fear or generosity have made their Retreat. The holy Writ affords us a memorable Instance of the Divine displeasure, in the 38th of *Ezekiels* Prophecie against Gog and Magog, who are there branded as the Invaders of a defenseless City, 'Tis there mention'd in v. 10th and 11th. Thus saith the Lord God, it shall also come to pass, that at the same time shall things come into thy mind, and thou shalt think an evil thought; and v. 11th. And thou shalt say, I will go up to the Land of unwall'd Villages, I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither Bars nor Gates; and in v. 12th, to take a spoil and to take a prey, to turn thy hand upon the desolate places, that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gather'd out of the Nations which have gotten Cattel and goods that dwell in the MIDST (or navel) of the land. But it then follows, v. 14. Therefore Son of man Prophecy and say unto Gog, Thus saith the Lord God, in that day when my people of Israel dwells safely, shalt thou not know it? that is, thou shalt know it to thy sorrow and by thy bitter experience of my wrath, what it is to disturb my harmless and quiet people in the World. The Comparing of the following 16th and 18th v. shew this to be the meaning of v. 14th. And I believe if any of the people of Gog and Magog were allowed by the Law to live apart by themselves, they might in any defenceless City be as secure from danger or fear of the *Protestant* Israel as they pleased.

It hath been well observed by a great Enquirer into humane Nature, That a restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death, is a general inclination of all mankind; and the cause of this is not alwaies that a man hopes for a more intensive delight then he has already attained to, or that he cannot be content with a moderate power, but because he cannot assure the power and means to live well which he hath present without the acquisition of more. And from hence it is that Kings whose power is greatest, turn their endeavours to the Assuring it at home by Laws, or abroad by Warrs. But as much as it is the inclination of the unthinking or brutish part of Mankind, that power should be like the Crocodile alwaies growing, the soberer few do know, that power will destroy it self if it shall be still ascending and hath not a Center wherein to rest and be quiet, just as fire would perish in nature and destroy it self

self, if there were not an Element allow'd it wherein to leave burning: And that therefore *Augustus* wisely designed a *Law de cobibendis imperii finibus*, And that the experience of Antient and Modern times hath taught the teachable part of mankind, That great Empires have sunk under their weight, and have lost the length of their power by the widening it; and that Kings whose power is greatest (as was said) sometimes turn their endeavours to the Assuring it at home by Laws, which by giving it some bound are like letters about the edges of our coyn, *Decus & tutamen* to it, the which makes it so Sacred, that 'twould be both Treasonable and Ridiculous to clip it, and that as the Bees by their King have given the world an instance in Nature of Kingly power, so they have likewise another of Kings governing by the power of Laws. 'Tis a common observation, That tho Bees are little angry fighting Creatures upon occasion, and leave their stings in the wounds they make, *Rex tamen apum sine aculeo est*, the King of the Bees is without any sting, and the curious work of the Hive goes on with a great deal of *Geometry*, and idle Drönes are thence as it were legally expel'd who would there invade property. Nor need the King of the Bees (say the Naturalists) have a sting, for the whole Hive defends and guards him, as thinking that they are all to perish if their King be destroyed.

And this would be the case of the Papists, if they would be content so to part with the sting of their Power that it could not hurt either King or Kingdom, and might not come to lose it self by so doing, they would have the *Posse* of every County to defend them, they would have the Laws and the whole *Hive* of *English* men to guard them, the very Anger of the Protestants would be a defensive *Wall of Fire* round about them. 'Tis true, that wild Animals are by their constant fears of danger habituated to more cunning than Tame ones of the same species, but all their little cunning renders them not so safe as the great wisdom & protection of the Law doth the other; and ranging and out-lying Deer thrive not so well as those that are in the Forrests. And here it falls in my way to observe, that the Kings cautioning by the Law of the Forrests, that the Mastiffs shall have the Power took from them of hurting the Deer, may well insinuate into us the reason and equity of all our Laws that hinder its being in the power of a man to be a Wolf to another, and of the Power inherent by the Law of Nature in all Sovereign Princes to restrain any undue Power of Subjects from violating the Public peace. As the Law of God and Nature command both Justice and Mercy to be shewn to Beasts, so doth the Law of England provide that any mans person and Estate should be seized into the Kings hands in case of some wild cruelty to his Beasts; for he would appear in the eye of the Law an Idiot or a Lunatic, that should put his Horses or Ases to the Sword.

That which I mention'd of the Laws providing that the Mastiffs of any Inhabitants in Forrests shall not have Power to hurt the Deer, is called by the Forrest Law, *Lawing of Mastiffs*, or the *Expeditating them*, that is, the three Claws of their Fore-foot to the Skin are to be cut off; and thus they are to be law'd every three years for the preserving the Kings Game, and the peace of his wild Beasts. The Regarders of the Forrest are to make a *TRIENNIAL* enquiry about it *& tunc fiat per visum & testimonium legalium hominum & non aliter*, that is not Arbitrarily; there must be legal Judgment upon legal Testimony, and no Dog law'd without Judicial proceeding. This Forrest Law made in the time of our Popish Ancestors, did suppose; that the Kings Game could not be preserved, nor the Peace of his Wild Beasts, by the Dogs being then either exorcised, or their lapping a little holy water, or any expedient (as I may say) without expedition, which did *ipso facto* destroy their Power of destroying the Kings Game and the Peace of his wild

wild Beasts ; and therefore that's the only *valuable Garranty* we can have from those who without *Law* and against *Law* would hunt down the King himself and his *Faithful* Subjects, that the *excrecence* of their power should be *bambled* or *expeditated* : but the *modus* of this I do again say ought by them to be tendered to the Consideration of his Majesty and the *Triennial* Regardors of the Kingdom. I am sure 'tis worthy the consideration of us *English*, what the Learned *Frenchman Monsieur Bodin* tells us in his *Book de Republica Lib. 5. Cap. 6. Una est tenuium adversus potentiores securitatis ratio, ut scilicet si nocere velint non possent, cum nocendi voluntas ambitiosis hominibus & imperandi cupidis nunquam sit defutura.*

And now my Lord to give your Lordship a *home Instance* of Jealousie taking Fire in some meerly from the *power* of another to do them hurt, I will instance in your self at this conjuncture of time. The nature of *Jealousie* renders it to be a troublefom weed and yet such an one that growes in the Richest Soil of Love, my meaning is, that 'tis a *fear* of Love not being mutual when one doth *love* intensely with desire of being so loved. My Lord, in the picture of your mind that I have already drawn in this Letter, I have only done you a little right, and not at all favour'd you, and 'tis but Justice to you to acknowledge that the Protestant part of your Country hath a singular love for you, with a desire of being so loved by you ; and 'tis in this *Critical* conjuncture of time that your *power* makes them *fear* the love not to be mutual. Your Lordship knows, that *fear* in people is an *aversion* with an opinion of hurt from any object, and they soon *hate* those things or persons for which they have *aversion* : and *fear* of hurt by *power* disposeth men naturally to *anticipate*, and not to stay for the *first blow*, or else to crave aid from *Society* and from others especially whose concern may be the same or greater then theirs, and who are their representatives, and to wish ill to those who make them sleep in armour, or to *stand* in the posture of *Gladiators* with their weapons pointing, and their eyes fixed on another, and to be still in *procinctu*, and all those passions sprung from the Root of Jealousie, as far as they exceed the bounds of reason, are degrees of *madness*. And tho mans life be a constant *motion*, and for the most part in both a Rugged way and near Precipices, yet during that *madness* men are still by their own Scorpions scourging it to make it move faster then the regular and intended pace of Nature, and injuring themselves with their passions, are content too to wound another through their own sides. And thus my Lord give me leave to tell you, That 'tis a kind of a *Complement* from people to a great good man of whose *power* and of whom they are *jealous*, when that it may be said of them, that they are occasionally *fallen mad* for love of him.

One part of your Power, namely that wherein you are a Conduit-Pipe to convey the grants of Honour and profit from your *Royal Master*, the *Fountain* of Honour, 'tis possible for you to quit, and that with pleasure too, that you may have time to quench your great *thirst* after knowledge in that great collection of waters into which so many Streams of learning have met from all ages and Nations, I mean your vast and choice Library. And I may well suppose that your Lordship hath now that sense of *Greatness* and of *power* by publick Employment, that *Cardinal Granvel* expressed at his retirement from the same. *That a great Man is like a great River, where many sorts of Creatures are still quenching their thirst, but are likewise still muddying and troubling the Stream.* Your Lordship knows who said, that *actio est conversatio cum stultis, lectio cum sapientibus.* In the Scene of the busy World you are necessarily troubled with the affaires of men whose being born was unnecessary to the world, and there you are usually put to play at hard games well with ill gamesters, the jest that fortune playing in humane affaires commonly puts on

on the wife to spoil their busie sport : there you are sometimes deafen'd with Complaints of *Mimick Apes* and *grave Asses*, of airy fools and formal fops one against another : but in your *noble Library* you have the advantage of the *still Musick* of the Tomb, you have the *weight* of many dead Authors making no noise, you have *Socinus* and *Calvin* standing quietly by each other, and some Authors content with the dust of your Library who thought one Christian world not enough to trouble ; 'tis there you will avoid any trouble by Authors of *gilded outsides* intruding, nor be molested as now by *nonsense* in *fine clothes*. You cannot now quietly enquire after the fountain of *Nile* for the noise of its *Cataracts*, nor appease your *thirst* after knowledge otherwise then *tanquam canis ad Nilum* for fear of the *Crocodiles* of the World devouring you, nor have a view of the *tree of knowledge* without a *Serpent* of envy circled about it, nor have *time* to look on the pieces painted for *eternity*, nor to mind the *Eclipses* in the *Heavens* while you are preventing your own being *eclipsed* in the *Earth*.

But my Lord, there is another kind of *power* inherent in you, and that you cannot part with, such a power as *King Charles the first* in his *Eikon Basil.* affixes to the Character of his favorite, when he sayes, *he looked on the Earl of Strafford as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affaires of State*. Your very *Reputation* for *power* is *power*, for that engageth those to adhere to you, who want protection. Your *Success* in your past conduct of publick affaires is *power*, for it makes men promise to themselves good fortune while they follow you. Your eloquence that fastens mens ears to your lips is *power*. Your great knowledge in the *Law* whereby you possess that Engine by which you can be only attacked, and whereby you have that fastness, where one a-breast can keep down a Multitude, is *power*. Your *affability* and *good Nature* that endear you to so many, is *power*, and makes the *hearts* of men to be your *Pyramids*. And all these sorts of *power* in you, which make every party wish you to be *theirs*, make up so bright a beauty in your mind, as may well cause *jealousie* in that party that by *loving* you, think they have Right to be again beloved by you ; I mean the English Protestants, who court you, and to whom you have so long engaged your self, and especially when they shall find their *Rivals* boast of the *kindness* you have for them ; and that too at such a time as this, when the Protestants seem to have the concern of one that is playing his last stake, and which only can make him fetch back all he has lost ; a *time*, when any one who pretends to a cold harmless neutrality, doth really intend an exulcerated hatred ; a *time*, wherein he that *is not with us is against us*, however it may have hapned, that in some *lazy conjunctures* when Papists and Protestants were half asleep both here and in the Neighbouring Continent, that then *he that was not against us was with us* ; a *time*, *cum non de terminis sed de totâ possessione agitur* ; A *time*, wherein as in that of the tempest that happen'd to the Ship that carried *Jona* among the heathen Mariners, we see almost all, namely the *Papists* calling on their God, and the *Church of England* likewise, and the dissenters in the several persuasions on theirs, with this difference, that no man is now asleep, but all in it are *waking*, some at work to save the Ship, and others to bore holes in it, as if they were concerned to have it cast away as being not owners in it, and as if they had secured their own merchandize in it which they purchased by the money they took up at *Bottomry* from *Rome* or its agents, and knew how to secure themselves in the *Cock-boat*.

We have had dull and lazy conjunctures of time heretofore, insomuch that many years ago a *Divine* seemed to begin a *Sermon* on the *Gun-powder Treason* day before a great Academick audience, as it were yawning and in his sleep

sleep with these words, *Conspiracies if not prevented, are rather dangerous then otherwise*: And thus the ingenious *Comedy* tells us of a *Hero*, that as he was in the height of his passion with the greatest zeal making Love, instantly dropt down into a deep sleep; but 'tis no time for yawning when the Earth begins to yawn under us. And tho times have been heretofore influencing the Protestant cause like the *Sun in March* that could only raise the vapors of Popery in the body of the Nation and not dissipate them, 'tis now supposed to be otherwise, and as I have heard that the *Earl of Hallifax* in his Speech in the house of Lords having spoken of his hatred to Popery, excellently well added somewhat to this effect, *And we may now exterminate it if we will*. And therefore with that now, I think the *ecce nunc tempus acceptabile festina & salutare*, may be applyed to the Kingdom. And if as the *School-men* tell us, *Angels may dance upon the point of a Needle*, we may imagine many both good and bad ones dancing on this point of time; 'tis on this moment the Nations eternity depends. Every one now is as good a *Conjurer* as *Friar Bacon*, and can make a Brazen head say time is; by which words I believe the learned *Roger Bacon* meant only, that in the vessel of Brass wherein the exquisite chymical preparations for the birth of gold were laboured, the nick of opportunity was to be watched under pain of the loss of all the fire and Materials, and art and labour, according to that of *Petrus Bongus*. *Ibi est operis perfectio aut annihilatio, quoniam ipsa die immò hora, oriuntur elementa simplicia depurata quæ egent statim compositione, antequam volent abigere*, as I find him cited by *Brown* for it in his vulgar errors, where he further saith, *Now letting slip this critical opportunity, he missed the intended Treasure, which had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England, that is, the most powerful defence and strongest fortification which Gold could have effected*.

My Lord, my opinion was askt in a letter from a very honest Gentleman and much your Lordships Servant, Whether you should not do your self and your Religion a great deal of Right, by printing in this juncture some of the excellent and large discourses you have formerly writ against Popery and the substance of the answer I gave him was to this effect, That tho I would not disswade your Lordships now publishing any thing relating to the tenets of that pretended Religion that might import Protestants to understand more cleerly then they did, in which way they have been advantaged by the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Book against Popery, yet that I thought the great bulk of Popery could no more be destroyed by notions and arguments, then a capital Ship could be sunk with bullets, for that supposing they did all light between wind and water, the Papists have thousands of Plugs ready to be clapt in there, and thousands of men in that great vessel ready to apply them, and tho I thought there was a time for writing of Books, it was when there was a time for reading them, that is, when people had time to read them, but that now the most curious works of *White-akers*, and *Jewels*, and *Rainoldses*, would be no more regarded, then attempts of shewing the longitude would be to Navigators while under the attack of a Fire-ship as I said, or while they were making their way through the body of an Enemies Fleet. I know that 'tis said to be an old *Sybilline Prophecy*, that *Antichrist shall be destroyed by paper viz. Antichristum lino periturum*, but alas, that way is now as insignificant in the case, as to think that the dominion of the Sea can be built up by *Seldens Mare Clausum*, or destroyed by *Grotius his Mare Liberum*, or any way but by thundring Legions in powerful fleets.

Indeed our paper pellets that the press since its licence hath shot against Popery, I mean the innumerable little sheet-pamphlets that have come out against it may find time to be read, and to give us diversion, but the Papists looking on their Church as a great *First-Rate* Mann'd with *Popes* and *Emperors*, and *Princes*, and *Fathers* and *Councils*, and innumerable Souls there

embarked in the Sea of *time* for the great Voyage of *Eternity*, do account our little Protestant honest *Sheet-authors* firing at them daily to be only like the *Tacht-Fan Fan's* attacking *De Ruyter*.

But my Lord, there is another Reason why a person of your Lordships great Power and Abilities should not at this time embarrass your self with writing. No not those defences of your innocency, which yet perhaps may be necessary to be done for the use of those who know you not hereafter when the heat of the day and your Services in this critical juncture shall be over, and would now shew as meanly as if a *General* in the *time of Battel* having some dirt or dust lighting on his face, should while he was among the bullets employ his barbers washballs to cleanse it, and that too when the fate of the battel seems to totter and is near decision one way or other, and while there is hardly room for the *Quid agendum* to wedge it self in, and he that saith *consider* is almost a foe, (and therefore once when a great Commander had no way to save himself and his Army but by their swimming with their horses through a River to attack their Enemy, he did only to that question of *quid agendum* put to him by his Officers, suddenly echo back the reply of *agendum*, and with his horse took the River) and while now 'tis with us as on board a Ship in the time of Fight, or of a Storm when they are Fighting with the Elements, and the Master or Steersman orders any thing to be done, the case will bear no dilatory answer of words, and the answer there is, *Done it is*; I say, after all this, that there is a reason which in my opinion renders any mans writing unnecessary now either to the World or himself, and that is this, That words and Language the which formerly having the stamp of common usage and of reason on them passed as currant coin for the Signification of mens minds and as a medium of commerce, are in this juncture as useless that way, and of as little value as leather coin called in: and this Age wherein both the word and thing called *shamme*, hath been brought in use, and *shamme* calls it self an answer to that great question, *What is wit*? tho with as little reason as if a lye should call it self an answer to that old great question, *What is truth*, hath inforced those that do not love to be *shamm'd upon*, not to measure mens actions by their words, but their words by their Actions. And tho a mans written books are called his works, yet have I observed an occasion of *Sarcasme* given thereby, when one speaking of a particular *Divines* excellent writings, said he loved his works, but hated his actions. And written works are now indeed but actings as when a man doth *agere gestum in scena* on the Stage of the World, and for them he finds but only a *Theatrical* applause, Nor so much as that, when like the Actor crying *O heavens*, he looks down on the Earth.

As he is always accounted but a smatterer in knowledge who is a pedant, or petty-Chapman in words, so he playes but at small games in politicks, who is a pedant or trader in words, or who indeed will give any thing for them. He who doth *verba dare* has bad morals, and who gives any thing else for them has bad intellectuals, and according to that old Monkish verse they said,

Res dare pro rebus, pro verbis verba solemus.

The only real security therefore that the World hath for its quiet, is mens only giving a seeming belief to seeming professions and protestations; for as Ayr out of its place makes Earth quakes, so if the articulate air of mens words gets beyond my hearing into my belief, it may there raise those commotions of passion that may make me trouble both my self and the World, and particularly by the passion of jealousy before-mentioned, on my desire where I have a kindness that it should be mutual, and when positive words brought me into the fools paradise of believing it possible, a thing perhaps not possible in nature, that two bodies and minds whose faculties must needs be different, should have an equal intenseness of love for each other, no president of friendship

ship, particularly that of *Jonathan and David*, having shewn it, and in the conjugal love the passions of the *weaker Sex* being observed to be the *strongest*, and that of jealousy as well as Love, jealousy particularly being most *potent* in minds most *impotent*, and in persons most diffident of themselves. And this may in some sort *console* your Lordship after all your restless endeavours to merit the love of all your Countrymen if it be not exactly mutual. But this by the way.

The great names of *Protestant* and *Religion* began to adorn each other in the year of our Lord 1529, when some of the *Electors* and *Princes* of the *Empire* with a *protestation* opposed the *Decree* relating to the *Mass* and *Eucharist*, made at *Spiers*, and when some of the *Capital Cities* of *Germany* joyn'd with them to *protest* the same thing. But every one knows that a *protestation* is a revocable thing, and that a *Protestation* contrary to *actions* *revokes it self*. And that the word *Protestant*, hath not been in the World as the Poets term is of calling grass green, or the like, *otiosum epitheton*, I believe the Papists will grant: and 'tis not one *Protestation* made and not revoked either by words or actions, that can make that term consistent with our Religion, or render a man worthy to be call'd one. 'Tis not a good continual claim to our Religion that yet is for land we are disseis'd of that is made only once a year whilst we live: No; the *Protestation* that the *Protestant* Religion requires, is such a continual one as is reiterated, upon every fresh act and attempt of the *Papal* Religion against ours; 'tis not a going to our Cells, and saying, *Lord have mercy upon us*, but 'tis our watching in our Stations, and our shewing no mercy to the principles of Popery that are alwaies attacking the quiet of the World either by Storm or Siege, or undermining; 'tis like the *Protestation* required when the defendant hath declined a Judge, that must be made *toties quoties* as any new Act is done by the Judge, without which the *first Protestation* grows insignificant: 'tis not one Act of *protesting* the *Popes Bills* of Exchange for good money we paid him, and his giving us *bank-tickets* upon purgatory, or giving us some fantastick Saints pretended Hair or Nails (*protested* with so much scorn by our Popish Ancestors in *Henry the 8th's* time, that a piece of *St. Andrews finger* covered with an ounce of Silver pawn'd by a Monastery for forty pound, was left unredeemed at the dissolution of it, which shewed that that commodity would even then yeild nothing, and was a meer drug in *Scotland* (of which Country he is call'd the Saint Protector) but 'tis further like a *protestation against the Sea* at the next Port made *toties quoties* goods in a Ship are damnified by its rage, which the law requires the *Skipper* to make, or else leaves answerable for the damage. And if a poor *Tarpauling* who must alwaies plough the Sea for his bread during life, and there still contest with the angry Elements, shall when he comes on shore by a *protestation* bid defiance to the *pride* of the whole Ocean, he deserves not the name of a *Hero* that Safe-guarded by both the *Land* and the *Law of the Land*, shall not on occasions offered continually have the courage to *protest* against the damages both his King and Country have from the *Rage* of Popery. My Lord, I have been the longer in discoursing of the insignificancy of words, or indeed ought, but the *emphasis* of works requisite to shew a *Protestant faith* at this Juncture, because I am sure you are willing (as you may well be) to *joyne issue* on that point, and to be judged a *Protestant* in *mans day* by your works, as you must in Gods stand or fall by the *Test* of them, at the last *Audit*, and to appear a *Protestant* too by works above the poor level of a dull *opus operatum*, by works that represent the continual employment of your life with an Heroical vigour, and your *going from strength to strength* (as the Scripture expression is) in the defence of *Protestancy*, by works that speak you like the heavenly bodies incessant in your influence, and having rest only in *Motion*. 'Tis not without wisdom ordered by the *Pope*, That

no men shall be *Canonised* till after *death* for fear of *Apostacy*; nor then likewise, unless it shall appear that they wrought *Miracles*. And the truth is, our people were all so far born with *Popes* in their bellies, as to this point, that they will not now *Canonize* any Great Men for *Protestant Saints*, unless at this time they do *Miracles*; and indeed I think they have reason to insist on their doing as great *miracles* for our Religion, as any *Papal Saints* dead or alive have done *against* it. And when I consider the real Great Things that have been by the heads and hands of your Lordship and other Noble Persons performed for the *Statuminating* of the Protestant cause, and enabling us to say to our underminers with the confidence of the Psalmist, *As a bowing wall shall ye be, and as a tottering fence*, I do think you may expect with Justice that which is greater then our praise, the acclamations of our *blessing*, as *Aristotle* saith, *that to heroick qualities in men not praise, but pronouncing blessed is due* (*ἐν ἡρώδῃ ἀλλὰ μακαρίζουσι*) and as *St. Paul* saith, *it is more blessed to give then to receive*.

And here, my Lord, going by this exact Rule of measuring things by things, and not by words, your Life hath enabled me to give the strictest *Areopagus* of Censurers the world can produce, and who would damn the use of Proems and the art of moving passions by words, an irrefragable instance how you have secured the Nation formerly from being enslaved to and by Popery, and at that time when we seemed to our selves as secure from it as from *Mahumetanisme*, which was when you were the great Conductor of the Publick Councils in the Conjunction that brought in the King, and hindered *Lambert's* usurpation of the *English Scepter*, who tho at that time he was not generally suspected to be a *Papist*, was on very rational grounds believed to be such then by many very knowing particular persons; and that too to be not only a *Papist*, but a *Jesuited* one. He was at that time suspected by some for having advised at a military cabal of the then great ones that the Cavaleers should be Massacred, a cruelty that could enter into no breast but one abandoned to Jesuitisme. And as on such a *Monster* your Lordship then had your eye on him: and of his being such some of the *depositions* and *examinations* took about the late plot have been very particular and satisfactory. Nor is his having petition'd some few years before the discovery of the late Plot, That he might have his Liberty, and of a very great Roman Catholic Lord's having then offer'd to be security for his quiet demeanor, Now unknown, so that the Kingdom then scaped falling into Popery before the danger was by it apprehended; like the Man who in the *Night* scaped that of *Rocheſter Bridge*, and whom the light of the following day almost confounded with his *deliverance*. Your Lordships activity and prudence appearing in the public Councils and in your *Secret* correspondences, to the defeating of the councils of that *Romish Achitophel*, and seizure of his person, will no more be forgiven you by the Papists of *England*, then it either by the Papists of *England* or *Ireland* will be forgiven or forgot that you shew'd your self a true Father of your Country in *Ireland*, in the Conduct foremention'd of that great Affair of the Metropolis, and many Garrisons of that Kingdom being wholly put into the hands of the Parliament, rather than the Child (as I may say) should be divided between any of his Majesties Subjects, and the Pope the pretended supream Father of that Country, and that you preserved it to come into the hands of the true Supream One.

Your Lordship and other well-wishers to the Crown then were not of the humour of some of our young vulgar Protestants, who as the Papists parrots, have been by them taught to speak it commonly, That they love a *Papist* better than a *Presbyterian*. 'Tis sinful not to love the persons of both, but ridiculous to love the Yoke of either opinion; and it seems his late Majesty

Majesty of glorious Memory, and his Council, and his noble Lieutenant of Ireland, and your Lordship thought it safer for the Crown, for Ireland to be trusted with that sort of disobedient Children that depended on no forraign Ecclesiastical Head, then on such as did. And it is to be acknowledged to your Lordships care of the freedom of your Country, that when you sat in the long Parliament till you and other Members thereof were torn thence by Cromwel's Souldiers, you crushed the *Jure-divinity* of Presbytery in the Egg by its being ordered to be settled only for three years, so that it saw it was to be expedited at the end of three years, and had no power to trample upon the consciences of others, and in effect had but a *tolleration*. I think that no Church-Government at all is better then that rigid one of Presbytery intended then by some Zealots. As the good and learned Dean of Canterbury said in his *Sermon on the Fifth of November* before the House of Commons, That as to Popery, 'twere better there were no revealed Religion, and that humane Nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, then to be acted by a religion that inspires men with so wild a fury, and prompts them to commit such outrages, &c. and there renders Popery worse then Infidelity or no Religion, and so indeed in fact the Kingdom had then no Church-Government paramount at all in it, and instead of the imagined fierce pedagogy of the Scotch Presbytery that made every *Levite a Rabby Busy*, every Pulpit Rhetor a Consul, and every Lay-Elder Major General of the Parish, we had a tame insignificant Government admitted only to probation for three years, and were no more hindered of the freedom of a Gentlemans Conversation thereby then by the Government of the foremention'd Presbyter John in the East, and England was then not only free from the charge of *Peter-pence*, *Legatine levys*, *oblations*, *contributions for the Holy Land*, and both charge and trouble from all the Papal Courts and *Masses Anniversaries*, *obits*, *requiems*, *dirges*, *placemos*, *Trentals*, *lamps*, but from all *contumacy fees* in spiritual Courts, and from those Courts themselves of which yet the yoke is very easie compared with either that of the Papists or Scotch Presbyters; and our condition, as to ecclesiastical discipline, was like that time or conjuncture of liberty, that Father Paul in the History of the Council of Trent refers to, speaking of the time when a certain custome prevailed, saith, *il, che come e un uso molto proprio, diove si governa in liberta, quale era all hora quando il mondo era senza Papa*, That it was a custome very proper where they governed with liberry, which was when the world was without a Pope.

I never heard of any man that was gored with the horn of our Presbyters excommunication, nor of any dissenter from them, that was tyed up for them out of their horn of plenty of Church power to force a drench of Doctrine down his throat, and much less of any dealt with in that way mentioned by Spotswood, in his Observation, that the Devil would not be feared but for his horn, referring to the horning in Scotland, that is, the seizure of all a mans goods when the horn blew, after he was excommunicated by the Presbytery.

There is no doubt but that some of the Divines of that persuasion were brib'd to it by an expectation of power to oppress, when that the great Revenues of the Church were denied them; And thus the Pope keeps his Guards in Rome only with the pay of *priviledges*, but instead of their riding the People, the Parliament rid them, and with that caution as they of old did who rid on Elephants in battel, which great animal being observed to be then unruely sometimes and to endanger both the riders and their camp, and it being known that their receiving a Contusion in one part about their head, would presently dispatch them, their riders had alwaies a hammer with them ready for that use on occasion.

20. He therefore that saith he loves *popery* better then the Government of *Presbytery* as it was *de facto* settled or rather permitted in *England*, and when they that would have its maypole for them to dance about had it, and those that would have none, had none, saith that he loves a fiery and tormenting furious Church-Government that would make *Mount Sion* to be still belching out fire like *Ætna* better then none at all: that he loves a *Hirricane* better then being a while becalm'd: that he loves the Church government that was like *coliquintida* in the pot, rather then that of the *Presbyter*, which was here but like *Herb John*, and that he fears a *Mastiff* who was not only hambled and whose *jus divinum* was *laid*, and whose *spleen* was cut out by the *State Chirurgeons* more then an incensed hungry *Lion* of *Rome*: that he likes a Government better that at best is like a *Peacock*, that is all *Gaudery* and damned *Noise* and nothing else except *pede latro*, that is, all *Ceremony*, and devouring all with ceremony, then a Government that with its looks can neither allure nor fright, and which we could pinion as we pleased, and play with till we could get a better in its Room. Whether a *Papist* was to be loved better then a *Puritan* was a vex'd question in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* and 'twas resolved then in the affirmative only by the *Pensioners* of *Rome* and their dependants.

21. The Learned Author of the Book called *Certain considerations tending to promote Peace and good will among Protestants*, doth in p. 13. quote our famous *Gataker* for relating that *Dr. Elmor Lord Bishop of London* in *Queen Elizabeths* time, when one in a *Sermon* at *St. Pauls Cross* inveighing against *Puritans*, rendred them worse then *Papists*, sharply contradicted that censure, saying, that the Preacher said not right therein, for that the *Puritans* if they had me among them would only cut my *rocket*, but the *Papists* would cut my *throat*, and that his Successor *Dr. Vaughan Lord Bishop of London*, when another in the same *Pulpit* too shew'd the same eagerness in representing the *Puritans* worse then *Papists*, expressed the same sense with his predecessor concerning it, and wished that he had had the *Preachers Tongue* that day in his *Pocket*. It was (it seems) then the good fortune of *London*, to be blest with *Bishops* renown'd for their great zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and with such a one it is at this time enriched and dignified, I will not say *Bishop* of it only by *divine permission*, but *miseratione divina*, the Style I have seen of *Bishops* in some antient Instruments, 'tis out of the *Divine Compassion* that such an eminent *Protestant City* has such a *Prelate*. Nor do I intend by the just praise paid to this great and good man, to lessen the worth of others of the *Fathers* of our *Church*, of which number I have the honour to be acquainted with others who endeavour the extermination of *Popery*, with as courageous a zeal as can be wisht, and no doubt but the text of *Scripture* in the Title of my *Lord Bishop of Lincolns* book, namely, *Come out of her my People lest ye be partakers of her Sins and Plagues*, is by the whole *Church of England*, lookt on as a seasonable alarm, and no doubt many of this our *Church* who have writ with so much various learning and strong Reason against *Popery*, know that if that ever be *de facto* and by law paramount, the *Church of England* will be *ipso facto* crusht thereby out of all its visibility. The thought of this brings that *Scripture* to my mind, viz. *Matthew 21 v. 44. and who soever shall fall on this Stone, shall be broken, but on whom soever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.* And if the *Church of England* by only falling *super hanc Petram*, I mean heretofore by the Empty Project of some for the *Uniting Rome* to us, was broken and disjointed, therefore if ever it shall come under the *Stone* of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and it be thereby made possible for the *Stone* to fall on it, the *Church of Rome* will then grind it to powder. Its former falling on the *Rock* could only break it into the pieces of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*,
and

and other *seperate* Churches, but that *Rocks falling on it* will not *break* it into pieces but grind it to powder as was said; and perhaps Papists then from this place of Scripture would form as good a title by *divine right* to crush our Church, as they did from the *super hanc Petram* in the 16th of Matthew for the building of theirs. But this by the way.

And now putting the Question who are to be loved best, either the Popish Priest and Levite that help'd to wound Ireland formerly when it fell among Thieves and Rebels, or those compassionate Samaritans who put it on their own Beast and poured Oyl into its Wounds, and took care of it till it was restored to its true Owner? I suppose a Protestant will say the latter, and will account that no fire should be called to fall on the heads of such hospitable Samaritans, and that others should be spared, who instead of pouring Oyl into our Wounds, did it into our flames when they burnt our Citie.

Your Lordship hath shewn your self a compassionate Samaritan to Two Kingdoms to which your healing principles and practices have been beneficial, and in this you have out-done him in the Parable who did not stay to see the effects of the gentle Medicaments of Oyl and Wine he bestowed on his Patient's Wounds, but your Lordships long attendance on the affairs of the Public brought you to see the Languishing Kingdom revived, and to have at once both its Head and Senses restored when Providence made our Sovereign to be his repenting Peoples choice. But, my Lord, these Kingdoms have not yet done with your Skill, and may have Wounds that require your Wine and Oyl, the Lyons Heart, and Ladies Hand, I mean such Tenderness and such Courage, and so great Judgment as you have formerly shewn, A Raging Acute Disease that hath been long not only besieging but storming a mans vital parts, and with extream difficulty at the long run repell'd by Nature, doth yet commonly leave such dregs in his spirits that depress and enfeeble them in the remainder of Life, and a man come to himself after a long madness, labours still under a dejection of his spirits both by grief and shame, thinking of the arrear that he is in to God, the World, and himself, by his former madness: and this is the present state of England after its former state of distraction; and men with shame now look on their former Physicians, and some are apt with that Merry Mad-man in the Poet, to be angry with those that took pains about their being cured. 'Tis true indeed, the Kings Restoration cured us of our Civil Wars, yet may a man be cured of his Wounds, and afterward dye of the Feaver his Wound put him into; and our condition is such, that 'tis some degree of Heavens Mercy to us, that our Feaver is continuing, for no man can dye in a Feaver, as no man can dye without one: And our spirits are so sunk under the weight of the Disease we have long languisht under, that our Stomach cannot endure any Cordials, or especially the same long; & certainly that strong Physic that would at first have cured us, would now kill us. Yet now in this conjuncture several of our Political Physicians seem by their retirement to have given us over, as if they were of Hippocrates his mind, who said, that a Physician should not discredit his generous Medicaments by employing them on a desperate Patient.

Methinks 'tis pity that any of our Pilots should quit the Helm in a Storm, and that they should not (as Cicero's expression is) *Sententiam tanquam aliquod navigium ex Reip. tempestate moderari*. Those words in Prov. 1. A man of understanding shall attain to wise Counsels, some read, *Vir sapiens gubernacula possidebit*, I presume not to Censure any man, but I hope that no cross Winds will ever make your Lordship leave the Helm, but rather invite the continuance of your Skill in beating and tiding it out (as the Sea phrase is) and in not overshooting the Port. Your pacific Genius and great Wisdom have in several angry conjunctures

junctures produced an unexpected calm by your offering unexpected *Expedients*, a *Talent* that is indeed very *rare* and conducive to the quiet of the World, as leading Potent Parties from their declared Opinions without the shame of a seeming retreat.

It happens still in Navigation, that what makes the Passenger merriest, makes the *Steers-man* most thoughtful, Namely the sight of Land: And therefore tho I and others who *make no figures* in the government of the Kingdom seem to be glad at our sight of land, that is the extermination of Popery from *England* after we have been so long *nauseated* and Sea-sick with it, yet 'tis now our occasion for the skill of such a Pilot, as your Lordship is greatest when we are endanger'd by some Protestants of narrow Spirits and Principles as by Shelves or *brevia & sytes*, shallow waters, and by little Rocks or *breaker's* just covered with water and which are only to be discovered by the swelling roughness of the water they occasion. It has pleased Divine providence to cast your Lordships whole life of Action into *difficult times* such as are called in the New Testament *χειροι χαλεποι* and translated *perilous times*, And such as Cicero calls *Maxima Reipublice tempora*, and *difficillima Reip. tempora*. Your life hath been a continual contestation with principles pernicious to man-kind, and you have been under your Prince a *Nutritius pater* for the most part to men who have like froward and unquiet Children been crying for each others *property* in things civil, and in Religion, and have thought themselves *persecuted* when they could not *persecute* others; Nor have you been too much a *Latitudinarian* as to Church discipline, Nor of too narrow a *Spirit* or principles as to any Protestant *Dissenters*. And I think Envy never charged you for giving any advice that tended to the injuring the *ballance* of Christendom, or the power of *England* in settling it, or the persuading us to love some of our Neighbours better than our selves. You who are so far from *offending any weak brother*, That you are ready with the Apostle rather to *abstain from eating flesh while the World stands*, and therefore will much less kill or devour him, and lest of all will you offend a *weak Brother-Protestant Country* or help any else to devour it: and will not injure any of those Countreys that you visited abroad (when the world and you saw one another) by projecting their Mischief. And therefore as I find in the Prolegomena of *Grotius de jure belli & pacis* that *Themistius*, speaking to *Valens the Roman Emperor* he told him that *Kings* if they would be guided by the Rule of true wisdom they must *non unius sibi creditæ Gentis habere rationem, sed totius humani generis, & esse non φιλομαχίδες tantum aut φιλοποιμαχοι sed φιλόανθρωποι*, so it may be justly said that the Counsellors of *Kings* should alwaies advise them, not to take care only of the concern of their own people but of the happiness and quiet of all man-kind, and not only to be *lovers of the Macedonians*, or *lovers of the Romans*, but to be *lovers of Men*. I never heard your Lordship reproacht for having any interest contrary to that of your Country or indeed to the repose of Christendom. And as in Nature we see all heavy bodies tend by their own Center to the Center of the *Universe*, so have I still thought that your Lordship alwaies endeavoured by the pursuing your own good to pursue that of the Kingdom, and that your endeavours of promoting the good of your own Country have tended to the good of the World: And that in every Scheme of your Politicks whether Civil or Ecclesiastical pollicy you have took your *Model* from the *Great Architect* of Nature doing things *fortiter* and *suaviter* and with regard to his works of which 'tis said in the 8th of *Wisdom*, *Mightily and Sweetly doth she order all things*.

And he that builds so, is a *Workman that need not be ashamed* either of himself or of his work, that is both strong and fair: such a *Counsellor* need not

not be ashamed of his *Council*. 'Tis one of the worst sort of Reproaches to which a Councillor at Law can be exposed, to be called a *crafty Counsel*, that is, one who secretly gives advice for the perverting of Justice and the law; and to do that vile thing is more odious in a *Councillor of State*: And of this subject when I formerly discoursed to your Lordship, I remember you were pleased to say it of your self to me, That you had a great aversion from giving *whispering* Council, to your Royal Master, and that it hath been your humble motion to him, to command his Council to give him their advice in writing.

Your Lordship is by one particular accident a necessary subject for the Worlds compassion, namely by your having out-lived most of the eye witnesses of the many memorable things you have done for the World. If the people of *England* your Contemporaries were *six Millions* at the time of your birth, *five* of those *Millions* are now lodged in graves, persons above the Age of *Sixty* making but a *sixth part* of Mankind. I reading lately in *Tully de Senectute*, was pleased with what he saith of old men both *de facto* & *de jure* praising themselves: he saith there, *videtisne ut apud Homerum sapissimè Nestor de virtutibus suis prædicet? Tertiam enim jam ætatem hominum vixerat*: he had lived almost 300 years when he went with the other *Grecians* to the *Trojan War*, and where he gave such weighty advice, that *Agamemnon* said he should make quick work of the taking of *Troy* if he had ten such Councillors as *Nestor* was; *Quod si acciderit non dubitat quin brevi Troja sit peritura*. He never wish'd, saith *Tully*, to have *ten Ajaxes*. It seems the General thought that an old Commander would be weighed down with a *tenth part* of an old wife Councillor. But *Nestor* had bury'd all those *thrice* over who were born with him, and he lived to see his Country-men doubled once and a half (200 years being the space judged for a Nations doubling) and if he would have his Atchievements in his *first Century* Celebrated and witnessed, he must be his own Herald and witness in his own cause. I will not apply *Nestors* case to your Lordships, as to your doing right to your self by praise, for you have no more occasion to do that then *Tully* had who saith there, *Nihil necesse est mihi de meipso dicere, quanquam est id quidem senile ætatique nostræ Conceditur*: But do think that any Protestant Prince who can say he hath ten such Councillors, and resembling your Lordship in the experience of near *fifty* years spent in the affairs of *State* in *critical* times, and with success, and equal to you in all sorts of Learning, and in the knowledge of the *Law* and publick *Records*, and in Eloquence and Courage, as well as in the hatred of Popery, he may add, *Quod non dubitat quin brevi Roma sit peritura*. i. e. without such dilatory *Troy Sieges* as have been formerly laid to it. He saith elsewhere, *Apex senectutis est autoritas*. *Quanta fuit in L. Cæcilio Metello? quanta in Attilio Calatino, in quem illud elogium unicum, Uno ore plurimæ consentiunt Gentes, populi primarium fuisse virum*.

And this *Authority* or Reverence of old age is so weighty, that it seems reasonable that in the criminating one that hath this badge of Nature there should be what *Tully* calls *authoritas testimonii*, and any single witness had need to have an allowance *se primarium fuisse virum* that would convict such a man; for diamonds are not to be cut but with the dust of diamonds. 'Tis not for nothing that the *Scripture* cautions the not receiving an accusation against an Elder but by two or three witnesses, and I am told that the *Canon-Law* requires seventy two Witnesses to convict a Cardinal who is a Bishop accused of any crime but heresie, and forty four in the conviction of a Cardinal Presbyter, and twenty six to convict a Cardinal Deacon, and seven to convict any Clerk. And therefore I think that it was a commendable tenderness and worthy of English Judges in a Trial at the *Kings-Bench*, to acquaint the Jury,

that they are to weigh and consider the credibility of witnesses pardon'd for perjury; and both the Judges of the *Kings-Bench* and *Common-Pleas* resolv'd it, That the credit of such a person was left to the breast of a Jury. The Bishop of Rome who claims that *Monarchiall* power which is *potestas restituendi in integrum Sententiam passos, & quandoque absolvendi pœnam & non infamiam, quandoque & pœnam & infamiam abolendi*, and who as *Aquinas* saith (2. 2. æ. q. 68. ar. 4.) *potest infamiam Ecclesiasticam remittere*, yet allows the *School-men* to apply distinctions to that privilege of his, and to interpret it of *infamia Juris*, not *Facti*, for *labem illam quæ turpi facto annexa est, nemo delere potest*, as *Soto* concludes *De Justit. & Jure* l. 5. q. 5. ar. 4. No man who ever he be can wash out that stain of infamy which by Nature is inherent in a foul wicked Act, because (saith he) *ad præteritum non est potentia*, when the infamy is inherent by the Nature of the fact and not positive by Law. But still our merciful Laws of England allow a person after a pardon for the infamy of perjury, to be a witness, reserving his credibility to the Jury, and who may after the former crime obtain to be believed by them, when they shall have found that he hath acquired an habit of virtue by the series of many actions in his following Life, no man being supposed able in a desultory way to leap out of a rooted habit of Vice into an heroical habit of Vertue, and so *è contra*; for that nature doth not pass from one extreme to another, but *per medium*. 'Tis true indeed, in case of Treason where the life of both the King and Kingdom is struck at, and of which there is rarely any detection made but by participants in the Crime, one who would be repell'd from being a Witness, is welcome as an accuser, and the barking of a dog is allowed to alarm us of thieves; and as we say against Pirates, *omnis homo miles est*, much more may every man be an accuser against Traitors. Thus I have heard that in the case of *heresie* in the which (as I said before) the Canon Law orders the same proceedings and rules as in Treason, a Lay-man is allowed to be a competent accuser of a Clergy man: And as by all Laws any man is allow'd to be an accuser who prosecutes an injury done to himself or his Kindred, so I am told, that by the Canonists *Hæreticum accusans dicitur suam suorumque injuriam prosequi* (and in that case a notorious enemy is allowed to be an accuser) for that a *heretick* is said to strike at the Foundation of all Lawes divine and humane. Nay according to the Canonists, the Pope who cannot be accused of any crime but *heresie*, may be accused of that, and even by a *heretick*, and that with good reason according to their hypothesis; for that the Pope being a Bankrupt in the Faith by *heresie*, attempts to break all the innumerable Priests, Monks, Friars, Nuns, &c. that get their bread by that Religion. No wonder therefore that the Canonists agree that *heresie* is to be cut off in the beginning; and they cite out of *Timothy*, that it doth eat as a Cancer, and the eating of *heresie* even in the breast of a Pope must needs be troublesome to the whole body of Clerical and Monastical Papacy, as a Cancer or Wolfe that would eat up all their bread, and therefore in the single case of *heresie* the Pope himself according to his own law may be convicted by two Witnesses, and be thereupon deposed. But tho it may be supposed that as the Civil and Canon Laws do leave the credibility of witnesses very much to the Judges, so our common Law does to Juries, and that in many atrocious Criminal causes, every man is not allowed to be an accuser of an illustrious person, and that we ought to be very tender and reserved in the taking up an ill report against the meanest of any of our Neighbours of mankind; yet its otherwise as I said before in the case of Treason, which is like a pestilence walking in the dark, and seldom known before its incurable, and before its ploughing up the whole Land of a Country into graves. We are not to quarrel with the Birds of the Air who tell who sits in his Bed-Chamber curses the King, because they are not Eagles. We are to be

be glad of the happy Augury, and to thank God and them for their saving the Imperial Eagle; and to be well pleased with either Tame or Wild-geese that save our Capital. If any Fleet comes to invade us, we are not to be very nice in dissecting the Morals, or outward estate of him who fired the Beacon. Your Lordship hath heard how Owen Conally, an obscure person (as Sir John Temple styles him in his History of the Irish Rebellion) came to the Lord Justice Parsons about nine of the Clock at Night before the intended seizing of Dublin Castle, that was to be on the following day and discovered the detestable Conspiracy to him, with the names of the chief Conspirators, when the disguise of mine had made him seem hardly intelligible or credible. And when it falls out that a Country is saved by wholesale through a detection of Conspiracies presented by persons who cheated their Countrymen formerly by retail, that is, by persons who had been vile and infamous, it ought to be accounted as an instance of the divine benignity to some of the most wretched and sinful Members of Mankind, who have been long industrious in tearing out of their hearts what reliques they could there find of the divine image, and who had long acted only Devils parts on the Stage of the world in punishing and being punished, then to invite them to an opportunity of changing the Name of Malefactors into that of being blessings to the World, and not only of being their Countries benefactors but (as it were) founders, and to gain good Consciences, and good names; and what rarely happens to others to have an after-game allowed them to play for Reputation, and to have it said of such an one on the occasion of the shame of his past life stimulating him to bring both glory and safety to his Country, *sinon errasset fecerat ille minus*. By the account that I had sent to me from London of Matters in some affidavits relating to your being called Papist, your Lordship hath the greatest advantage that any man can desire who has any things sworn against him, by persons how credible soever, namely the incredibility of the things themselves. For can it be thought that your Lordship would out of your own Mouth judge your self a Traitor, that is, one reconciled to the Church of Rome, and forfeit your Life and Estate, and attaint your blood in the presence of a young man you had never seen before? and is it likely that the Irish Papists, who, as Sir John Temple observes in his said history, have such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them with much silence and secrecy to carry on their business, and whereby the design of the last Rebellion which was so generally at the same time and at so many several places to be acted (and therefore necessarily known to so many several persons) was without any Noise brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of Execution, without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of persons who were generally designed (as most of them did) to perish in it; And the Irish Papists having been often (as he saith) caught by an oath of Secrecie, I say is it likely that they now designing mischief if they did hope by your Lordships help to promote it, that they would trumpet forth your Lordships name in their publick Masses, and use such speaking trumpets about your name and their enterprise as should be heard all over Ireland and England? And who can believe it to have the shadow of a possibility that your Lordship should give Commission to any to offer one of the Kings witnesses (and particularly Mr. Dugdale) your house as an Asylum to retreat to after they had for the turpitude of lucre retreated from their Principles, their Consciences, their Oaths? I never see any man sworn as a Witness in a cause, but I think of the saying of St. Austin upon those words of St. Jerome, *Above all things my Brethren swear not, Namely Falsa Juramentum est, Juramentum periculosa est, Nulla Juramentum securum est*; and I have as it were a little cold shivering on me, while I see a man about what he knoweth all of the property of a renement staking his title to a Heaven and a Crown of glory; I doubt then

then such a concern for another, as I have when I see a great Ship just launching off the Land into the water, and do then apprehend an immortal Soul launching it self into the great Ocean of Eternity, and am afraid of its being overlet. But when I think of a mans having honestly sworn already and in the greatest concern, namely in the detection of a Conspiracy against his Kings Crown and Life, and consequently having invoked the Omnipotent God to be conditionally his Revenger, his Executioner as well as Judge, and further think of any one that shall tamper with such a witness and offer him a great Sum of money as his *viaticall expences to hell* to swear contrary to his former oath, and by that New Oath to renounce his expectation of a Crown of Glory in Heaven, and to endanger his Princes Crown and Life on Earth, and to attempt a Mortal wound on Gods Vice-Roy in the dominions of his Soul, I mean his Conscience; I have both all possible horror overwhelming my thoughts on such a *tremendous* instance of the degeneration of Mans Nature, and I have all the *compassion* imaginable for your Lordship on one of Mankindes pretending to think it possible that your house should with your consent be turned into a *denn* for such a *Monster*.

An *Areopagite* was discharged from the Seat of Judicature, because he threw away from him a small bird that fled to him from the pursuit of a great one; and it was therefore supposed that such a judge alwaies carried cruelty in his breast for that *charissimum Deo animal* call'd *Man*: and such is the compassionate tendernefs of your Lordships mind toward injured and persecuted Mankind, that one of those may be allowed to Nest within your house as freely as a poor bird without it, But birds of Prey, I mean *Romes* Vultures, and either suborners or witnesses suborned to recant, have no plea for your Shelter; and I am confident rather than your house should be a cage for any such *unclean birds*, you would be content as the expressions of the Prophet are, that the *Satyr* should there cry to his fellow, and that the *Schrick Owle* should rest there, and that the wild Beasts of the Desert should also meet there. Your Lordship sees what a preferment the *Papists* designed you; for that after (according to some of the *Narratives* of the Plot) Sir *W. G.* was designed *Lord Privy-Seal*, you were to be a *providore* for a suborned cast witness, and a *Jackal* or provider for the roaring *Lion* that walks about seeking whom he may devour. In fine, my Lord, they designed your Lordship to be an entertainer or an *Host* for the Devil. But your Lordships name being taken in vain by those who would have retained Mr. *Dugdale* to take Gods so, and the Devils tempting any to undertake for your house being a Sanctuary to a devil, are not new things for wonder, when you please to consider that the Devil presumed to undertake for Almighty Gods protection, when he tempted the Son of God. It seems the shewing to *Dugdale* the several Kingdoms of the Earth where he should be safe, could not prevail with him to be a fugitive from his Conscience; and tho it appeared in several *Trials*, and particularly my Lord *Staffords*, the tempter desired to have him, and that he was sifted, winnowed as wheat, Yet neither his Faith nor the faith of his Testimony failed him, after all the *cribration* thereof, and all that was gained by the endeavour'd suborning him against himself, as well as others against him, was only the fate of the *Thrush*, who is sometime birdlimed and took by his own excitements; Is it not then an example of rare modesty, that the diabolical tempters should be the accusers of the Brethren, I mean of some of the Kings witnesses that would not be Bribed from attesting the truth in the case of their Political Father? The Age wants not the instance of an honorable Person, who courting a Lady in order to marriage, thought her at last not worthy his further amours, yet who because he did once profess to love her, he sought

one who reproach'd her vertue: But his example is not more heroical than is the practice infamous, for such who courted some of the Kings Witnesses both by importunity and gold to espouse their interest, and when both were totally and finally rejected, make it the most study'd part of the *Romance* of their Lives to dishonour them, and to *shamme* inventions of New Tragicomic *Plotts* upon them, but *Plots* so damn'd *dull*, as to be seen through in the opening of the first *Act*, and *Plots* that were most *thin* where the *Actors* cryed to themselves like *Bayes* in the *Reherfal*, *Now the Plot thickens*, and where nothing of the *three Unities* was regarded, and which no marvel if they brought such confusion still to the *Actors*, as the *Story* makes to have once happen'd to the old *Red-Bull Players* at the *Tragedy* of *Doctor Faustus*, when they complained that *they had one Devil more than their Company*, and when they said a *quarter of the house was carried away*. Your Lordship out of a generous indignation that such *Whiffles* in *Politics* should think to lay a *tax* upon the belief of the Kingdom both without *Act* of *Parliament*, and without *Sense* (and indeed contrary to the sense of several *Parliaments*) did during a *Paroxysme* of the *Gout*, cause your self to be carried by your Servants to be present at *Council*, when the *Papists pretended Presbyterian-Plot* was there to be considered. And if it be true what *Mr. Hobbs* saith in his ingenious *History of the Civil Wars of England*, [*That Monsieur du Plessis and Dr. Morton Bishop of Durham writing of the progress of the Popes power, and entitling their Books, one of them, The Mystery of Iniquity, the other, The Grand Imposture, were both in the Right; for I believe there was never such another Cheat in the World*] the *Mercury* of that cheat being sublimated into the invented cheat of that *Plot*, was too nauseous and strong for the belief of the Kingdom to be able to swallow. We may therefore be very well allow'd to put the old great interrogatory of *Cicero* to these *Catilines*, *How long do you abuse our patience?* especially considering how much to windward we are of them by the detection of their real *Treason*, and do see both the *smoke* of our gunns, and those of their own they fire at us annoying them, and while we have had the just advantage of *Plaintiffs* against them and whereby their *recrimination* against some of our great number has seem'd only dirt thrown in their own defence, and at worst but *Catilines* accusing of *Cethegus*, and considering that we know it only proper to their Religion to justify the Maintaining the dignity of *holy Church* by *Lies* and *calumnies*. Thus *Guymenius* a famous *Popish Doctor* ex tractatu de *Charitate* *Proposit.* 7. p. 176. cites *Bannez. 2. 2. quest.* 70. art. 3. dub. 2. for asserting that *per modum defensæ & ad infringendam contumeliosi auctoritatem, potest secundum quosdam absque lethali crimen falsum illi objici*, and that 'tis only a venial *Sin.* to object a false crime to an unjust witness, and twenty *Doctors* are there mentioned for the making this a probable opinion. And therefore if it be lawful for a man to make *shamm-accusations* where he hath only a private concern, 'tis meritorious to do it in the case of *holy Church*: therefore he said very right according to the *Popish hypothesis*, *gaudeo siue per veritatem siue per occasionem Romanæ ecclesiæ dignitatem extolli*. *Joseph. Stephanus de Ose. pr. in epist. ad lect.* non nobis sicut
Guymenius p. 190. extractatu de justitia & Jure, Propositio. 1. Cites both *Philosophers Schoolmen Divines* and *Casuits* of several orders, and even *holy Scripture* for the asserting this proposition, viz. *Licetum est clerico vel religioso, Calumniatorem gravia crimina, de se vel de sua Religione spargere minantem occidere, quando alius defendendi modus non suppetit*: A principle of Religion calculated only for *Bullies & Hectorers*, & therefore no marvel that such were observ'd to flock from so many parts of most Countries in *England* to *London* in and since the year 1678. like *Ravens* in expectation of the *Carcases* of *Protestants*, and such miscreants are to the *Jesuits* their *Triarian bands* upon occasion, and who in

the Out-skirts of *London* are a noysome Pestilence, and not enduring nor being endured to live in the Countrey.

But from the said last Cited proposition of *Guymenius*, the proposition that contained the enacting Law Sir *Edmund Godfrey* fell by, I infer, that since there is a *par* or *proportion* between a good name and life, that such who account it lawful for a particular Clergy-man to Murder even a Popish Lay-man who shall but threaten to calumniate him, will account it meritorious by *Shammes* to Murder the fames of those who shall threaten to accuse holy Church.

And it seems as men try experiments on Creatures they account vile, they experimented both these propositions on *Godfrey*, for after they had basely killed him, they would have *shammed* off his blood and the guilt of it upon himself, when they pierced his dead body with his own Sword; a barbarous and infamous sort of cruelty, and which brings to my mind what *Dr. Donne* in the preface to his *BIAΘANATOS* referres to in the *Notæ Mallon. in Palest. Part. I. cap. 2. viz. that the Church in her Hymnes and Antiphones doth often salute the Nayles and Crofs, but the Spear which pierced Christ when he was dead, it ever calles dirum mucronem.* And here because some of them drive an eternal trade of butchering and shamming, and then in effect Stabbing their own Shamms of Plots, I shall Entertain your Lordship with one egregious instance of a Priest of theirs being abandon'd to a reprobate or injudicious sence of shamming, in making by a ridiculous Lye a famous Cardinal and profound States-man perhaps as the World has bred, and one of singular Piety and great modesty; to render the *Gun-Powder-Treason* a *Sham Plot*, and thereby wounding the Fame of both the understanding and morals of their great dead Church Hero, as barbarously as they did the Corps of *Godfrey*. And this instance I refer to, is in a Book called *The Advocate of Conscience liberty, or an Apology for Toleration rightly stated*, and writ with Learning and Wit, and Artifice enough *ad faciendum populum* by a Priest of *Romes* Church an *English* man, and printed in the year 1673. In pag. 325. He represents the *Gunpowder-Treason* to be a *Sham Plot* contrived by *Cecil*, and to prove this, Cites *D'Offats Letters, Book 2d. Letter 43.* And the date of that Letter was from *Rome, March the 29. 1596.* And the date of the last Letter there is from *Rome in December* that year. The *Gunpowder-Treason* Plot was to have been on the 5th of *November 1605.* And on *D'Offats* marble Tomb in *Rome* his Epitaph mentions that he dyed *Anno 1604.* so then he is made by that Author to have known that *Treason* to have been a *Sham-Plot* Eight years before it was to be executed, and to have permitted many Papists for want of his sending a line of News of the *Shamm*, to be sham'd out of their lives, and the *Roman* Church to be *shammed* and anniverfariet out of its credit in *England.*

But if they reproach any as they did *Cecil* on the pretence of the persuading some of their wild principles into the decoy of a plot, a thing I think detestable as what implies a tempting or inviting of a Man to degenerate from himself, they have no reason to be angry with but only to pity men that receive infection from their principles, and from this particular one, That 'tis lawful for a good end to ensnare men into acts of Sin. Many *Casuits* and *Divines* are brought by *Guymenius* for this purpose, p. 184. in the 9th proposition ex tractatu de Charitate, and under which proposition he quotes *Satus de Sec. memb. 2. quæst. 2.* a little before the fifth conclusion where he enquires, *an liceat & expediat aliquando perditum hominem permittere in pejora prolabi crimina, ut ignominia peccatorum confusus, facilius resipiscat & emendetur.* And he answers *licet nobis aliquando permittere peccatorem ad tempus in pejus cadere ut tunc resurgat.*

The 9th proposition there is *Maritus qui uxorem adulteram suspicatur potest ei occasionem offerre ut in adulterio deprehensam corrigit*. Lay man. Jesuita. lib. 2. tract. 3. Cap. 13. num. 5.

But in p. 205. *extractatu de justitia & Jure, Propositio 4.* The correction that may be lawfully used is assigned, it being there said, that *non peccat maritus occidens propria autoritate uxorem in adulterio deprehensam*: the which he saith *Sa* the Jesuit represents as a probable opinion, And which *Hurtado* he saith positively defends, *Tom. 1. resol. moral. tr. ult. res. 5. §. 7. n. 204.* so that if a Protestant States-man had inveigled them into a plot and then hang'd them for it, his *politicks* had squared exactly with their *Morals*. And even as the calling of a Rat-catcher is a lawful calling, tho some of that profession have had no certain way to take Rats but by the use of one experiment, namely, first, to provoke them to fly in the Artists face; according to the said principles is the calling of a States-man both lawful and laudable who deals so with such as he judgeth to nibble at Treason. But this by the way. And now to let your Lordship see how some of their Divinity is particularly but a laboured Sham in the case of Treason, and even but a mocking at Sin, I shall divert you with a known Author among them making men play with the bait of Regicide, as he is booking them into it: And 'tis *Mariana the Jesuit*, as I find him Cited by *Dr. Donne* in his forementioned book p. 135. He quotes there *Mariana de Rege l. 1. c. 7.* for cautioning against a King being a self-homicide by drinking poison prepared and ministred by another he being ignorant; for after he concluded how an heretical King may be poisoned he is diligent in this prescription.

[That a King be not constrained to take the poison himself, but that some other may administer it to him, and that therefore it be prepared and conveyed in some other way than meat and drink; because else, saith he, either willingly or ignorantly he shall kill himself] so that he provides that the King who must dye under the Sins of Tyranny and heresie; must yet be defended from concurring to his own death, tho ignorantly, as tho this were a greater Sin.

Is not this pleasant to see any of them catching of Kings in a Theological Mousetrap, and playing with them like Mice before they devour them? to see them sweeten a Cup of poison for a King with their damn'd Church Sophistry; and to sham men as licorish Flies to be Swallowed up in the Cup? I wish that some of the most considerable of the Grandees of the Church of Rome could Answer this accusation of their shamming, otherwise than by committing it *de novo*: for if they say that some of their Doctors write against this and other crimes as well as some for them, as particularly some write against the use of equivocation; And as *Father Parsons* the Jesuite writing against King *James's* succession, another English Jesuite namely *Creswel* writ for it, and so that when some of their Doctors break the Churches head, others presently gave it Plaisters, is not this a fearful, shall I say, or Contemptible sham? Do we not know that the discipline of their Church is as exact as any Military discipline can be, by which alone it hath preserved it self so long in being, and that none among them can publish books without passing several Courts of Guards of Superiors, nor contradict one another in rules of practice, more than Trumpeters of an Army dare sound a charge or a retreat but when commanded to it? And what a face of something like sham the present Popes declaration about some opinions of the *Casuits* carries with it, I have already mentioned; and doth not every one know their avowed doctrine *de opinione probabilis*, Namely, that tho an opinion be false, a man may with a safe conscience follow it by reason of the Authority of the teacher, and that a Confessor is bound to absolve the penitent when there is but one opinion for his being absolved, tho, he believes that opinion not only improbable as to the *principia intrinseca*, but false. In

In Sum, according to the old observation of Poperies prevailing, by having that in it which may fit the temper and humor of every individual person, and to be like *Manna* answering every mans taste, whether he hath a *gusto* for miracles, or even for starving or abstinence, for business, or retirement for Life or for death, for Honor or for begging, it may to these be added, that if any one affects to be a *Russian* or one of the Popes *Sheriffs* as aforesaid, there is a most ample field in the killing of Kings, firing of Towns, Massacring their Inhabitants for the talent of such a *Pavure diable*, and indeed incarnate one to expatiate in, and if any account it a *luscious* thing to be cheated or to be shammed as some few, or to cheat or sham as many think it, behold a Religion made for the nonce in that point too. But while they are thus playing with all things Sacred and profane, *he that sits in the heavens has them in derision* and leaves not the Protestants to fall finally as a portion to *Foxes*, such who turned tail to tail carry firebrands between them, and their *shammes* do only enter on the Stage of the World to be instantly *hiss'd off*.

My Lord, I have not been *rash* in Censuring either the principles or practices of some Roman Catholicks as aforesaid. And particularly I well know, that even the most ingenious of our *English* Papists cannot now in this *Conjuncture* endure to hear of *Father Parsons* his book writ by him to Invalidate the Right of King *James* to succeed *Queen Elizabeth*, principally because he was (as *Father Parsons* thought) an *heretick*. A very great Man that *Jesuite* was, and so Considerable, that one of our eminent *Divines* in his Sermon in print, gives him this Character; *That he was perhaps one of the greatest men that the order of the Jesuits has produced.*

And methinks 'twas pitty he should play at such small game of sham, when he publisht that book, as to entitle it to *Doleman*, an honest secular Priest whom *Parsons* hated, and to make him odious, laid the brat at his door.

Moreover, a kind of inglorious sham it was, that *Creswel*, who was *Parsons* his fellow *Jesuite*, writ (as I said) at the same time for King *James* his Right to the Crown, not out of any desire he should enjoy that Right, but that on all events they might have something to say in apology for their Society, and bring Grist to its mill. For if King *James* had not come to the Crown of England, the honour of hindring his Succession had been attributed to *Parsons*; and *Creswel* the *Jesuit* expected the Credit for his writing on the Event falling as it did. Thus I remember to have heard a Passage of two *Astrologers*, who on the day before the former great Prince of Parma was to throw the die of War, agreed together to predict luck to him perfectly contrary to one another, that so they might save the credit of their art, by one of the artists being in the Right.

The Author of the book called the *Catholick Apology, with a Reply &c.* (and which book I think the Author of the *Compendium* mentions as one of the books writ by the Roman Catholicks of England since the Kings Restoration) saith p. 366. speaking of *Dolemans* book, For *Dolemans* book who wrote it God knows, *Parsons* deny'd it at his death, and I believe he was not the author, because in several of his works he speaks very much to the advantage of King *James*. But as to *Father Parsons* having in that *Conjuncture* been of the Spanish faction, and having apply'd his whole soul and strength to hinder King *James's* Succession, and his having writ that book the Great foremention'd Cardinal, namely *D'Ossat*, (who in several of his Printed Letters gives the World a more satisfactory and particular Scheme of the whole design to hinder that Kings Succession to the Crown of England, than I know any or all else to have done) saith among his letters (printed in folio at Paris 1664.) in that in book 7th Anno 1601. a letter to the King, letter 131. what may be thus render'd in English, viz. *It may please your Majesty to remember, that since the year 1594 there*

there was a book printed in the English language that the Spaniards caus'd to be made by an English Jesuite call'd Parsons, and 'twas by the way of the low Country dispersed about England &c. And further in the 7th book p. 301. in the letter to Villeroy, letter 133. what he saith of that book of Parsons, may be thus made English, and from that book of Father Parsons one might draw reasons in favour of his Majesty, which would be more weighty then those he deduceth for the King of Spain and his Sister, the said Father Parsons does contradict himself very often and very grossly, as it happens to all persons in passion as able as they are, who are not guided by truth and by reason, but transported by Interest and by passion. And in the last letter of the 8th book, and to Villeroy from Rome the 30th of December 1602, he speaks of Father Parsons having made application to himself to desire that there might be a treaty prepared from Rome between the Pope, the King of France, and the King of Spain, to agree among themselves of a Catholick, that may Reign in England after the Queen, be it the King of Scots if he will turn Catholick, or be it some one else &c. But there in p. 367, year 1603, letter 174. from Rome to Villeroy, and on April 21st, it appears that all the Machinations of the hot Jesuitical heads against King James his Succession were overturn'd by providence, for he there saith that the Queen was no sooner dead, then that the King of Scotland was in England peaceably received, and the Controversie of King James his title evaporated; and for the honour of our English understandings he there saith, *Let gens de cet Isle là ont bien Monstré qu'ils sçavoient faire leurs affaires entr'eux tost & sèverement, & que ceux de dehors se sont fort mescontez en leurs desseins & esperances.* i. e. the people of England have well shewn that they knew how to do their own business among themselves quickly and safely, and that others abroad took very wrong Measures in their designs and hopes.

I have here said enough to entertain your Lordship with the View of their unreasonableness, who would impose on us; That Father Parsons wrote not that Impious and Treasonable Book, and likewise with the more pleasant View of Gods Confuting it (as I may say) by the happy determination of his over-ruling Providence.

And Now because I would make it appear to your Lordship, that I have not been unjustly severe to the Jesuitical Principles, in rendring them such as are the sturdy extravagances of those offals of Mankind, call'd Bullies and Hectors, I shall entertain you with one Instance of a Bravado of threatening from one English Jesuite to all Protestant Crown'd Heads, a bravado that is like the High Water Mark, to shew in words how high 'tis possible for the foam of the raging Sea of Anger to reach, and 'tis in a Letter of Campian the Jesuite to Queen Elizabeths Privy Councillers, printed afterwards at Triers, 1583. as I find it Cited in that most learned Preface of my Lord Bishop of Lincoln's to the Book concerning the Gunpowder Treason, in the Year 1679, and 'tis thus in English, viz. *That all the Jesuits throughout the World have long since enter'd into a Covenant, to kill heretical Kings any manner of way: and as to our Society know, That we Jesuites who are spread far and wide throughout the whole World, have enter'd into an holy Covenant, that we shall easily overcome all your machinations, and that we shall never despair of it as long as any one of us remains in the World.* Lo here a Drawcansir, that will not only smub all Protestant Kings, and take the bowles from their mouths, and beat out their Brains with them himself, but he saith there is a Society or Corporation of such brethren of the bladed Ecclesiastical, who have enter'd into a Covenant or Association to murder all Protestant Kings, and that every single Member of the Corporation should have that dead-doing talent of Valour that should awe and subjugate the Protestant World. And here then, my Lord, every Jesuite values himself on being a *Mutius Scævola*; and more than Three hundred of

these new Romans, or so many thousands of them, I mean *all* of them, according to *Campion*, have Covenanted to destroy every *Porfenna* that lays siege to Rome: but in that time of Queen *Elizabeth* there was an industrious Gentleman who fear'd not the terror of these *Husses*, but with his secrecy and silence did reduce these mad dogs into the Condition of neither barking nor biting in England, I mean Sir Francis *Walsingham*, of whom 'tis said in *Cotton's Posthumus*, That his bountifull hand made his intelligences so active, that a *Seminary* could scarcely stir out of the Gates of Rome without his privity. And no wonder then if *Campion* was soon brought to the end of a Traytor here in England by the Care of one of Queen *Elizabeth's* Privy Councillers in the Year 1581. who did both *despise* and *scorn* that *Rhodomantado* address, wherein the *Jesuite* did *Goliath-like*, *despise* All Protestant Kings and their Armies, and as if he would give their flesh to the Fowls of the ayre; but the event shew'd his own flesh was so given as a Traytors, to that use here in England.

It was a kind of a bravado in the great *Archimedes*, to say, Give me where to stand, and I'll shake the Earth. He well knew no such place could be found. The *Jesuits* it seems would have every one of their Order to be an *Archimedes*, and able to shake the Earth as he pleas'd, and the hypothesis of Popery they know offers them a place divided from the Civil and Imperial Government where to stand with their Engines, namely the Ecclesiastical, but things will not be ill administr'd, and holy Church it self will sink into the Earth, if its Foundation be not laid as God and Nature would have it, and the Man who stands for the place to be an *Archimedes*, and to Move the Earth, will soon find his fate of being dissolv'd into his own little dust, and that among the artificial lines he is making. It seems that boasted association or Covenant of the *Jesuits* did help to occasion another among the Protestants in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, which was ratify'd by Act of Parliament in the 27th of *Eliz.* which was about three years after the death of *Campion*, who was Convicted of High Treason by vertue of the Statute made in the time of our Popish Ancestors, namely in the 25 of *Edward* the Third, and thereupon executed, and yet by the Romish Church made a *Martyr*, tho (as I said) convicted on that Statute. But according to this thundring denunciation of War against all heretical Kings by *Campion* as the *Jesuits* Herald, and his boasting when he did put on his armour that every one of his Order should be like an *Alexander* an adequate match for at least one World of hereticks, the author of the *Compendium* needed not by his Rhetorick to reflect on my Lord Bishop of *Lincoln's* Candour & gentleness in saying yet if it be a breach of Christianity to crush the bruised reed and of generosity also to trample upon the oppressed, I wish his Lordship may be found guilty of neither &c. for behold any single *Jesuite* according to *Campion* tho but like a reed shaken with the wind is able to bruise all Protestant Scepters, and any little toe of that Order can trample all Heretical crowned heads to dirt, and the Number of the *Papists* in England if reduced to the least of Numbers is not according to *Campion* to be slighted, if one of them be a *Jesuite*, for that that one *Jesuite* will carry the advantage of odds against all Protestant Kings and Princes; that one may say my Name is legion, for we are many: but as that legion-spirit could not without the Divine permission ruin a herd of Swine off from a Steep place, so neither can all the legions of *Jesuited evil Spirits* in the World drive a King & Kingdom from Precipices at their pleasure: And Queen *Elizabeth* in spight of all the arts and power of Rome outlived eight Popes, and lived to change all her Counsellors but one, all her great officers twice or thrice, some Bishops four times, and died full of years, and did see and leave peace upon Israel.

And now I shall Entertain your Lordship with a further Reason of my charging the present Popes declaration aforelaid about some opinions of the Casuists,

Casuists, as carry with it a face of some thing like *Shamme*: and my reason is grounded on what was said in a publick Sermon before an honourable Audience, namely, that the propositions of the *Casuists* therein were not Condemned by the Pope in the Consistory, which would have made the Censure more authoritative, but by the Pope and Cardinals of the Court of the Inquisition, upon which a remarkable thing follow'd: the *Jesuites* in France who were much provoked at this Censure, moved the *Procureur de Roy*, or Attorney general at Paris to put in a Complaint against the publishing that Decree, since it came from the Court of the Inquisition, which not being acknowledg'd in France, nothing Flowing from that authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the decree was prohibited and suppress'd.

And may not the *English* Popish Priests say the same thing, the *Inquisition* was never received in *England*, and therefore that declaration of the Popes obligeth us not here, and we will prohibit and suppress it as much as we can! No doubt but the present Pope fearing that the Noysome and Infectious smell of those Opinions of the *Casuists* being more offensive to the minds of Men, then any snuff of a Candle can be to their Nostrils, they were ready to cry for the removing of the Candlestick of his Church out of its place, went about to extinguish them in the most Summary Manner that he could, and therefore attempted to do it by the Court of the Inquisition; well knowing, that in the Consistory of Cardinals all proceedings are so dilatory, and the old *magi* there so used to do every thing *pian piano*, that they would consume many pounds of new Candles in debating whether or no and how the old snuff should be removed, and perhaps would have thought to have contented the World in the mean time with giving it some perfumes: but the Pope being afraid of the *Jesuites*, perhaps as sometimes the *Grand Signior* is of his *Fanisaries*, doth not for fear himself should be extinguished by them, so far (as I may say) follow the light within him, as to throw away or tread out that snuff of those opinions as containing a *malum in se*, or declare any of them to be ill as contrary to the principles of the law of nature, in which case neither he nor God himself indeed could have dispens'd with them, tho yet any honest and ingenious *Heathen* would on the least occasion given, have declared them so, As *Cicero* and *Seneca*, and many others have done; and which had the Pope done and the *Jesuites* or any *Papists* persevered in the making those principles the Rules of practice, his Kingdom had thereby been *ipso facto* divided against it self, and a diffinitive sentence had been thereby given by the Pope that all who had dy'd owning those principles and practices, had been sunk forever into the burning lake. Therefore, as I said before, I hope this declaration of the Popes such as it is, will give an alarm to our *English* *Papists* to deal seriously with their Souls, and to consider as if it were for their eternities, these and other Principles of their Religion, and that if they will not be thereby perswaded to be almost Protestant Christians, yet to be altogether Masters of as good Moral Principles as the *Heathens* I named; and If any of them can but give us a Moral certainty of their Principles being but such, I shall never repine at any favour that any new Law may afford to such of them.

If therefore any of our Lay Country men *Papists* not guilty of the late Plot shall desire to be heard, and to say any thing toward this effect, some of us have heard of these principles before mention'd as own'd by our *Casuists* and Priests and Confessors, that are now thus condemned by the Pope, and we did not believe that those our spiritual guides did own such Principles, but now our Eyes are open by the condemnation thereof that they were before own'd and made rules of Practice; Wherefore we hope that who ever do own them, will abhor themselves and repent in dust and ashes; and others of us did formerly think them Consistent with the Christian faith and the peace of Kingdoms and with humane Society, but we now abhor

abhor those principles and repent in dust and ashes; We are ready to let the King and Kingdom and the World have a moral certainty, that we desire no power to change the Religion in England by Law establish'd, and we are willing to receive Instruction from any that shall be appointed by publick Authority, to give it to us, concerning what other principles beside these Condemned by the Pope are inconsistent with Religion or the publick Peace; and in case any shall offer to give us dispensations either for principles or practices contrary to those, we renounce as inconsistent with the publick peace; we shall be so far from accepting of such dispensation, that we shall detect the offerer thereof before a Magistrate, as much as we would an enemy to His Majesty; We are ready to give active or passive obedience as to all the Laws in being; We believe not the Bishop of Rome to have more power in His Majesties Realm by Gods word, then any other forraign Bishop, as was by Acts of Parliament and publick Recognitions declared in the Reign of Henry the 8th. We are willing to render the Kingdom as secure from fear of us and our obtaining power, as are the States of the United Provinces from those of our perswasion in Religion among them; We are willing to let you see, that the same Basis that shall be your security, shall likewise be ours.

A great part of our number has we fear given too much cause of jealousy to the Kingdom of their affecting pre-eminence therein, we are sorry for it, and hope it will be so no more;

I say such Papists as these are the bruised reeds, I would not trample on, and would make no noise to interrupt their being heard to the effect above mention'd. And since what has been done, may be, and Sir William Temple in his Impartial Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands, chap. 5. saith of the Roman Catholicks there, that tho they are very numerous in the Country among the Peasants, and considerable in the Cities, yet they seem to be a sound piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest: and have neither given any disturbance to the Government, Nor expres'd any inclinations to a Change, or to any forreign power, either upon the former Wars with Spain, or the latter Invasions of the Bishop of Munster; 'tis I say possible therefore for them to become sound pieces of the State there. And if the end of all their shamme Plots be what is usually that of Comedies, and Romances plots, a Marriage, I mean their espousing the true Interest of the Kingdom, I for my part shall never forbid the bannes of the Matrimony, nor enter any Caveat against the license for it granted by lawful authority; provided they give due security as in that case against such a precontract with Rome, that may null their contract with us.

'Tis an old Common Observation, That whelps without any care bestowed on them will see at the end of nine days, tho born blind, and that if they are much tamper'd with by art to be forced to see sooner, they are blind for ever: and therefore I hope that the forbearance of our Church in this latter Age to tamper with them, by disputes, or Catechising, or Compelling them to be present at the publick worship, will with the help of Time and Nature, and their experience of their inability by all their shamme Plots to put out our Eyes, conduce to the opening of theirs.

Alas, what advantage is it by all their artifices that they can hope both to gain and keep here, I mean for any considerable time. A trick of art is like a Monster in Nature, ill-lookt, and short lived; and 'tis obvious to every Eye, that the higher Scale got up by accident, is more ready to pop down again, then it was before, while it hung in its due poise. And while they do by art and contrary to Nature in any Conjunction hoist up their Interest high in the Air, the artificial motion endures not there long to be gazed at, and while it is there visible, 'tis beheld by thousands of vigilant Marksmen, who know 'tis easier to hit the mark shooting upward then downward.

We find 'tis notorious out of the present *Pope's* said Decree of the Second of *March* last, That the *Jesuits* and other *Casuists* were Encouragers and Patrons of *Calumny*, by those *Principles* of theirs he therein *Condemns*, and namely, That *Probabile est non peccare mortaliter qui imponit falsum crimen alteri, ut suam justitiam & honorem defendat: & si hoc non sit probabile, vix ulla erit opinio probabilis in Theologia: i. e. It is probable that he doth not Sin Mortally, who fastens a false Crime on another, that he may defend his own Justice and Honour; and if this is not probable, there is scarce any Opinion probable in Divinity.*

The *Jesuits* have by this Opinion given us the alarm that they make *Calumny* not contrary to the *Law of God*, but only beside it, for that is the *Popish* account of a *Venial Sin*; and moreover, that it is a small and very pardonable Offence against God or our Neighbour, and no more than an Idle word, and that it Robs not the Soul of life, and that it may be remitted without hearty Penance and Contrition, and only with the Sacraments, Holy Water, and the like; these being the *Popish* Received Doctrines of the Nature of *Venial Sin*.

And thus they may by false Imputations and Testimonies rob the Bodies of Protestants of life, without bereaving their own Souls thereof, and this is own'd by them as a first Rate probable Opinion in that Great Science call'd *Divinity*, that Great first Rate of all Sciences, as relating to the honour of God; but most certainly we have very great Reason to pity the Persons of those who have such low and groveling and ridiculous Conceptions of the Supreme Being, as to think to add any thing to the brightness of his Perfection by that Sacrifice with whose smoke they endeavour to blind the eyes of some of their Brethren; while they are with its flames consuming the Bodies of others, and to think to tickle him with the straw of Praise, while they rob Men, and that the using of Fraud can be worthy of God, which is scorn'd not only by Gentlemen, but even generous Beasts (it being proper to Foxes, and not to Lions to practise it) and that tho the Dice of the Gods always fall luckily (according to the old Adage) that false ones are to be used for their Honour, or that any one is to be a falsarius for the Glory of the true God, and that since the Roman Heathens thought it Essential to the Justice of their Laws, and the honour of Human Nature to term him a falsarius who but conceal'd Truth in the Case of Men, it can be worthy of the Divine Nature to encourage false asseverations in Ordine ad Deum, and that it can be any Honour to infinit Wisdom to out-wit silly Mortals, or to infinit Goodness, to set it self off by the putative or real faults of any one, and that since as the Philosopher said long ago, 'tis the greatest Scandal to a Governor imaginable *ἐμβαλδεν τοῖς περνούμενοις*, to lay snares for those that he Governs, to think that the Great Governor of the World can have honour from the laying of Nets and Springs by Man Catchers; In fine, to think that after the Divine Compassion to Men had under the *Mosaic* Dispensation so long signaliz'd it self against Idolatry, because 'twas a Cheat, and for that an Idol is nothing, it can be consistent with the Divine goodness now under the *Oeconomy* of the Gospel (of which the Restoring of Humane Nature was the Great intent) to encourage inhumane Arts and Artifices, to make it degenerate to the old Cheat of Idolatry again, and which was the worst extremity of it, the immolation of Men under the pretext of Religion, a Cheat of Idolatry, that the Blessed Jesus design'd by the offering of himself to exterminate out of the World as an unnecessary thing, and by his dying breath to make it evaporate for ever.

There was no guile found in his mouth, and his followers were only then wise as Serpents, while they were innocent as Doves: and the first Crying in the Cradle of the Puer Hebraeus of the holy child Jesus, was as Thunder to

strike the old Equivocating Oracles Dumb, that had so long cheated the credulous World.

When he branded the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* with sharper language, he calls them *Hypocrites*; He alarms us of *false Prophets* coming in the *Masquerade of Sheeps clothing*; tells us, That *he who calls his Brother fool, shall be in danger of hell fire*, and therefore he may much more fear that danger who makes a Fool of him, and plays the Knave with him; he Commands us not to *Calumniate or kill*, but to *bless those that curse us*, which is more than to praise them, as I said before of *blessing* being the tribute due to Men *heroically Virtuous*.

To shew that he intended nothing of *Artifice* in the Propagation of his Doctrine, a hated *Publican*, and a few poor Fishermen, and a Tent-maker are used in his *Embassy* to the World; men not likely to be able *Mentiri pro patriâ cælesti*, if such a Commission as *Go Cheat all Nations*, had been given them.

And lest it might be thought that with Oratorical *Harangues* that he or they led Men by the *Ears*, as an *implicit faith* is said to lead them by the *Nose*, he us'd no *bony* of Phrase, or *sting* of Epigram, no Politic Remarks, nor scarce more *lenocinium* of words, than is in *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear*.

He tells us, That *for every Idle word we must give an account*, and therefore certainly abhor'd *Equivocation*, which makes all words and speech *Idle*, and of no effect; and since, as I think, 'twas truly said, *Eloquentia non nisi stultos Movet*, *Eloquence moves none but Fopps*; he did, as I may say, put that generous Complement on mens understandings, not to Commission his *Ministers* to try to *sooth* men out of one belief into another by *bribing* their imaginations with the excellency of speech, or the *inticing words of man's Wisdom*, but the contrary.

He thought it worthy of *God* to be worship'd by the world in *Spirit and in Truth*, and not to encrease the number of his *Homagers* by *Lies, Legends, and Impostures*. It was for the honour of the *Christian Religion* that the Son of *God* chose to take flesh in the time when *Augustus* Reign'd, when the *Roman World* being freed from a long Civil War, had leisure to Cultivate the Arts of Wit and Reason, and had brought them to their highest Perfection, and took not the advantage of a dark and barbarous Age to surprize the World in, as afterward both *Papism* and *Mahumetanism* did, and 'tis therefore no Marvel if either of those two *Hypotheses of Religion*, did in one Point so much resemble the *Christian Religion*, in so soon with its ferment *leavening* so Great a lump of the World.

But the *Christian Religion* came not into the World like a *Fireship* with prepar'd smoke to blind mens eyes, as it was assailing them: No, for to the end that the *Christian* reveal'd Doctrine might like a great *Pyramid* be conspicuous to the whole world, and last together with it, and reach from Earth to Heaven, the Divine Providence was long laying its Foundation very deep in Nature, and very wide in the world; I mean, *Justice* and *Reason* so agreeably to Humane Nature then at their height appearing in the *Laws* of the *Roman Empire*, and its subjugating the World, and its reducing Mankind to the *Law* of Nature first imprinted on Man's heart, were by the Care of Heaven used as previous in qualifying the World to receive the Glorious *Superstructure* of the *Christian Religion*, the which would certainly not have been so much as *res unus ætatis*, if at that time when the *Roman Laws* inculcating the *Natural Cognation between all Mankind*, and placing *Actions that wound Piety or Reputation, or good Manners in the Number of things Impossible*, and intimating their abhorrence of *Collusion, Combining, Circumvention, and Disannulling things*

things done thereby, and branding of those acts that do *fraudem facere legi*, and rendering that to be but a piteous innocence that is but as good as the Law requires, and making him in the eyes of the Law to be still in Possession of any thing, who is actually trickt out of it, *quia pro possessione dolus est*, providing against Calumny by an Oath in all litigations, and when a person is render'd to do a thing *infamously*, expressing it by *dolo facit*, having the regard of *Pudor*, *verecundia*, *Humanitatis*, *ac Religionis ratio*, and other such words of the like charming signification, which were like Trees in the Body of the Roman Laws, planted as thick by one another as they could well stand, the Christian Religion had in the Congruity of its Precepts to Humane Nature come short of those of the Romans, who as Cicero says, did not *Calliditate ac Robore*, sed *Pietate ac Religione omnes gentes nationesq; superare*, and especially if in those against Calumny, Fraud and Circumvention, the Christian Faith had not reach'd as high as the *bona fides* of the Heathens; and much more, if the Model of Christian Morality had been in that Knowing Age like that of the Jesuits in this.

But certainly since it hath often proved fatal to the Ministers of Kings to be, or seem wiser than their Masters, the Jesuits by affecting in their Platforms of Morality to be wiser than him, who in the style of the Scripture, of God is made to us *Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption*, may easily take a prospect of their ruine; and as the Serpents trying to out-wit Heaven, and its Poisoning the Morals of our first Parents with its subtlety, made the Scene of its motion to be in the Dust, and it to be more accurs'd than any brute Animal; such is likely to be the fate of this Serpentine Order after they have been by their subtle Casuistical distinctions so long nibbling at the Sacred word, a thing the old Serpent did, and tempting Men in a fool's Paradise, according to their several Palates by their Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, I mean the Experiments of Vice, by their pretended Moral Theology; but what is so far from deserving the Name of Theology, that if it were imagin'd that a general Counsel of Devils were by their Chief call'd to debate of a Model of credenda and agenda for the world, 'tis likely they would unanimously agree to set up this, and no other; for no doubt they would pass no Article to deny the existence of a God, for they believe that, and tremble, nor yet any Article that might be controul'd by Natural light, or of which any Matter of Fact would be over-rul'd by Authentic History; but they would among the unwary Judges of things, and such whose Judgments are choak't up with the fumes of lust, try to puzzle the Cause of Religion, and by distinctions to make Golden Bridges for Men to retreat from Morality: And this Course the Jesuits have took. By their Casuistical distinctions they have broke both the Tables of the Moral Law into innumerable pieces; they have broke not only the least, but greatest of the Commandments, and have taught men so to do, and how to do it with a Salvo to them, and how *Salvo metu & fide peccare*; and by being Casuistical Splitters of Sin, have been as troublesome to the World, as Splitters of Causes are to a Country. The Christian Religion that great Tye intended by Heaven to be like a substantial and great Cable (as I may say) to supply the great Anchor of our hope, they have made it their great business to untwist by their nice distinctions, and to make it so fine that it will not hold, and by encouraging Lies and Calumnies for the honour of Holy Church, they have help'd the Politic-Atheists-would be to a new occasion of trying to insinuate that old impotent Slander that Religion it self is a Cheat; and moreover, since it is on all hands Confessedly true, that Religion is necessary for the Government of the World, and that every Ligament of Humane Society without Religion, is but like a rope of Sand, 'tis probable that the Jesuits Morality being destructive

structive of Religion, that the Nations of the World will look on it and their Society, as an Association against Humane Society, and that one Nation after another will declare themselves Abhorrrers of it. And it must by necessity of Nature appear, that they cannot be *Confessors* of truth, nor *Martyrs* for any but the Devil; that make lying *venial*; nor can their fate who pretend to be *Witnesses* in the Cause of Religion be any other than is that of some according to the Law and Practice of Nations, who are *Witnesses* in any Cause, to have their whole *Deposition* rejected upon the Discovery of one falsity therein. And since 'tis confessed to be the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly of the *Trent-Council*, that the *intention* of the Priest is necessary to the validity of a Sacrament, who can promise to himself safe anchoring in the Depths of a Jesuits intentions to make the Sacrament, while he makes Cheating lawful? If any one shall say, that so vile a thing is not to be supposed in a Priest, as upon any occasion not to intend the making of the Sacrament, let him consult the *Additional*s to the *Mystery of Jesuitism*, and there he shall see, p. 95. *Proposition 23.* no meaner a Jesuit than the Great Casuist Escobar, cited for this Assertion, *That it is lawful upon Occasion of some great fear to make use of Dissimulation in the Administration of the Sacraments, as for a man to make as if he Consecrated, by pronouncing the words without attention.* Escobar. *Theol. Moral. Tom. 1. l. 6. Sect. 2. C. 7. Prob. 26. p. 27.* And in this point, the Pope's said Decree is infallible; namely, to shew the fact of this Doctrine of Devils, having been own'd by Jesuits and Casuists, as appears by the *Proposition 29th.* in the Decree, viz. *Urgens metus gravis est Causa justa Sacramentorum administrationem simulandi.* O Blessed Jesus, can any Jesuit think it is lawful for him so far to fear those that can kill the Body as by his Dissimbling his making of thy Body, to destroy another's Soul by Idolatry? 'Tis among both Papists and Protestants confessedly true, that if the *Host* I worship should not be the Body of Christ, I were a great Idolater; and therefore if a Priest by that incident Passion of fear may lawfully forbear to intend to make the Body of Christ, I may well have such a constant fear as do's *cadere in Constantem virum*, of the danger of my worshipping only a Wafer, and consequently of my being an Idolater: and since a *Miracle* is Heaven's Broad Seal to the truth of any Doctrine, and since Transubstantiation is the greatest Miracle that can be thought of, I may well conclude that God will not commit the Power of making Millions of Miracles every day to men that make Cheating lawful, more than a Prince will commit the Custody of his Broad Seal to a professed Impostor. And therefore I shall by the way affirm, that the Protestant Religion not making the *intention* of the Priest essential to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, is more strongly assertive of the Real presence there then is the very Popish Hypothesis.

The truth is, 'tis a very inglorious, and a very imprudent thing to use fraud even in the Conduct of Political Government. My Lord Herbert in his *Life of Harry the Eighth*, speaking of a foreign Monarch, saith with great Judgment, but while he escaped not the Opinion and the Name of false (which yet his Country Writers palliate no otherwise than with calling it *Saberraynar*) he neither comply'd with his Dignity, nor indeed the Rules of Wisdom, true reason of State consisting of such solid Maxims that it hath as little need of Deceit, as a sure Game at Chefs of a false Draught: there is no use of it therefore among the wiser sort, it being only a supply of Ignorance among the Ruder and worse kind of Statesmen. Beside it appears so much worse in Public Affairs, as it is never almost hid or unrevenge'd. Reputation again is still lost thereby, which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell than such as Imagine them without it.

But

But to use Fraud in or for that great concern of Mankind call'd Religion, is more absurd: and 'tis the vilest Nonsense imaginable, for Men to talk deceitfully for God, and that style of a foreign Monarch of *Dissembling his Indignation*, need not be used by him who made the World with a fiat, and can unmake it with a thought, and whatever Religion in the World is true, I am sure that is and must be false that attempts to support it self by falshood or fraud, and by the Violation of Faith given. For I am sure that to stand to Promises, to abhor Deceit, is a thing in its own nature simply good, and that it is impossible that God should lye, and if it be simply good in God, it is necessarily so in Man, whom he hath made after his own Image, the Image being to answer the Archetype: and that Religion therefore that doth approve of *fallarii*, and which cannot have the true God for its Founder, and in which every honest man may justly say to the Deity of its worshippers, *Stand by thy self, come not near me, for I am holier then thou*, (as the Scripture expression is) must expect to be exterminated out of the *Knowing World*. Such worshippers can be no more judged parts of the *Ecclesia Catholica*, than *Pick-pockets* in Churches are of the *Cætus fidelium* there, and as when these petty *Larceners* are there discovered, they are glad silently thence to steal themselves away, such perhaps will the fate of those grand Impostors too be after their detection to march out of the Church, and that without the *Parade* perhaps of *noise of Trumpet*, or *beat of Drum*. There needs no battering Ram against Fraud, but Detection. And these *Arbiters of Calumny*, that like the Month of *March* came into the World as a *Lion*, may perhaps go out of it like a *Lamb*, and their Morallity naturally come into the number of *Pancirols*, *Res deperditæ*, and as not worthy of any Humane care to conserve, after it has with so much violence been labouring in vain to destroy that old great invention of God, the Law of Nature. Let any great *East or West-India Company* in the World, but once as a *Public Society*, renounce the observation of Faith, or Patronize Cheating, and no other Company need envy their growth or Continuance, or pick holes in their Charters, and retain the loudness of Lawyers to dissolve them. And such is the fate like to be of any *Religionary Society*. None need ask where are the *Fighters*, or where are the *Disputers* of this World, to confound an order whose *Casuists* make Lying lawful; and yet make it lawful to kill one that gives the Lye.

And the truth is, it is already through the Providence Divine, and likewise the Providence and Circumspection of Men so effected, That these lewd *Moralists*, that call themselves the *Fellows* of the *Holy Jesus*, these crafty *Companions* are so detected in the Church, not only as *Cheats*, but as having the *Plague*, that they are avoided by many of the *Orders* that own the Pope as their *Chief*, who will neither admit them to *Prattique* nor *Quarrentine*, and they are in a manner reduced to the state of those *Princes*, who force a Trade at home, and only drive one with their own Plantations abroad. They are already come to the state of *Bessus* his *Colleagues* in the *Comedy*, a sort of military *pretenders*, who after their *Buffetings* and *Spurnings* they had took from so many, did support their Credit only by this *Combined Determination*, namely, that they were valiant among themselves: and this is the present state of these *expos'd Casuists* of the Church Militant that have been so long imposing on the World by force and fraud, 'tis agreed on by them that they are *Just among themselves*.

With the help of all that Nature and Art can do, they can never recover the wounds that have been given them, by the publication of the *Les Provinciales*, or the *Mystery of Jesuitism discovered in Certain Letters written on occasion of the differences at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists*,

nists, with additions, and were Printed in the *English Tongue* in the Year 1658. And that Great Court of Conscience that is a Court alwayes open (and where the Judges are too many to be all brib'd or aw'd however some may sleep) which I may call *Conscientia humani generis*, having arraign'd and condemn'd their Casuistical Tenets as infamous, they are after an Impeachment and Sentence in that Court to expect no pardon: the World will never forgive nor forget their making *Calumny* a Venial Sin; nor their particular bringing into the Field for the service of the art of *strongly calumniating* Battalions of Fathers, Schoolmen, Divines of other Orders by *Guimenius*: who in that Book of his before mentioned, brings in a multitude of great names of those great ranks not only to Justify, but even to Sanctify the Crimes charged on them in those Letters: and as 'twas said of old, *Citius efficitur Crimen honestum, quam turpem Caronem*, so in *Guimenius* we do not see any rascall Deer who were Justly markt or wounded, thrown out of the herd of the Jesuits, but we see Men who were besmear'd with their own filth and the Dirt the World threw on them, out-braving the light, and to cleanse themselves from imputed guilt running into the Crouds of Casuists of their own and other Orders, as likewise among the Fathers, Divines and Schoolmen; and so Magnanimously Impious was he, as to make Acts of Cheating and Calumny to be patroniz'd by holy Church, and openly to excuse the putting Gods Mark on the Devils Merchandize, and to stamp in effect a legitimacy on them with an effrontery only to be parallel'd with that which *Tully* tells us concerning *Antony the Orator*, who being to defend a Person accus'd of Sedition, boldly went to prove that Sedition was no Crime, but a very Commendable thing.

But after all their long Casuistical weighing of the Dirt of Vice in *Aurificis latera*, or rather in *Essay-Masters Scales* which turn with the 300th part of a grain, and as some contriv'd by an honourable Person of The Royal Society, will turn with the thousandth part of one, it Can never be forgot that they tell us this Dirt is Gold.

Nor can or will the bold Artifices of the Jesuits before mentioned in eluding the Popes Decree of the 2^d of March, 1679. against their unmoral Divinity, and of which Declaration the Cloud contains Thunderbolts of Excommunication against their Tenet of lawful Lying and Perjury, and Equivocating, and of Dissembling in the administration of the Sacraments, be ever forgot even by many thinking Papists, or indeed the thinking part of Mankind.

And Protestants may well ask all Papists that Call those damn'd Tenets of the Jesuits by the Name of Religion, *Where was your Religion before the birth of Luther*? for *Luther* was born above half a hundred years before the birth of the Society of the Jesuits.

Nay since that Religion has been damn'd by that Decree of the Popes, we may ask them, *Where is your Religion now, where is the Popes Infallibility so much avow'd and Idolised by the Jesuites heretofore*? What, is not the Pope infallible in his Chair, in the Inquisition? was his Chair in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican, and attended there by the most Eminent and most Reverend Lords the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, being specially deputed by the holy Apostolic See, to be the General Inquisitors for the whole Christian Common-wealth against all heretical pravity, I say, was that Chair the Chair of Pestilence? Are not you as Heretics self-Condemn'd in having procur'd your infallible Popes Condemning Decree to be suppressed in France as coming from the Pope in the Court of Inquisition? Alas, do not we know that 'tis all one as to the value of the Coin, Let the Prince's Mint be kept in this place or the other; and that 'tis the Sanction of the Pope either in the Consistory, or in the Inquisition at Rome, that

that gives the *Standard* of weight and fineness to any Doctrinal Propositions, and that makes them *current*? Do we not know it out of the *History* of the Council of Trent, that the Pope told the Cardinals in Consistory, that they had only *Consultative* Voices to put things to his consideration, and that the *Decisive* Voice belong'd only to him? Do we not know out of that *History*, Book 7th, that *Laymer* the General of the *Jesuites* spoke with great vehemence and Master-like in the Council about two hours, proving that the Power of Jurisdiction was given wholly to the Pope; and that none in the Church besides hath any spark of it but from him, and that while *Christ* liv'd in the flesh, he govern'd the World with an absolute Monarchical Government; and being to depart out of the World, he left the same form, appointing his Vicar *St. Peter* and his Successors to administer it as he had done, giving him full and total Power and Jurisdiction, and subjecting the Church to him as before to himself: That in Councils be they never so frequent, if the Pope be present, he only doth decree, neither doth the Council any thing but approve, and therefore it has been always said *Sacro approbante Concilio*; yea even in Resolutions of the greatest weight (as was the Deposition of the Emperor *Frederic the Second* in the General Council of *Lions*) *Innocent the Fourth*, a most wise Pope, refus'd the approbation of that Synod, that none might think it to be necessary, and thought it sufficient to say *presente Concilio*? How comes the Case now alter'd, when we behold the *Jesuites* now crucifying the Decree of their King the Pope, after all their former *Hosannas* to him, while he was mounted on the World as his *Ass*, and after all their deafning of the World with Blessing him in nomine Domini, and see them now putting but a reed of *Infallibility* in his hand, and see his Scepter in theirs, and see their fourth Vow to the Pope annull'd, and what performance then can *Hereticks* expect from any Promises they make to them? and might not the *Jesuits* with the salvo of a Protestation against the *Inquisition*, or with a thousand Expedients, if they had pleas'd, allow'd Receipts from the *Inquisition*, to rid the World of a Pestilence, as frankly as *Protestants* use the *Jesuits* Powder against *Agues*, and without intending more Honour to that Court, than the Sacred Writ did to the Devil, in recording for our instruction several things by him spoken? And have not we a candid account of this Arcanum in a very Ingenious Discourse lately Translated into English, and call'd, *The Policy of the Clergy of France* to destroy the *Protestants* of that Kingdom, and writ in the way of a Dialogue between a *Parisian* and *Provincial*, where p. 67, and 68. *Le Cheise* and the *Jesuits* Party are said to have effected the suppression of the said Decree in France, upon pretence that it issued from the Tribunal of the *Inquisition*, and that in the Draught of an Order of a Parliament in France, for the suppressing the Publication of this Decree, these words were put, viz. *Tho that these Propositions are justly Condemned, and that Father Le Cheise caus'd these words to be razed out, and has put in their stead, That even the good things which come to us from the Tribunal of the Inquisition, ought not to be receiv'd*?

But if upon occasion of what was discours'd by that Author, it be further said, that the setting up of those amoral Casuistical Tenets in France, was the erecting a Pillar of ignominy against God, I will ask if one who is reverend an incompetent Judge shall go to demolish any such Pillar set up against my Father, and I have already own'd that that Judge doth infallibly know the bounds of his Jurisdiction, and have oblig'd my self to him by the foremention'd fourth Vow, that what thing soever he shall Command that belongs to the profit of Souls, and the Propagation of the Faith, I will without any tergiversation or excuse execute, as far as I am able (for this is the *Jesuits* fourth Vow to the Pope) shall I then be active in the hindring a Decree of this Nature, given by this Judge from being executed, at the same time, I Protest against it, shall I make no Protestation for the honour of my Father? And do you think in this Inquisitive Age the Cheat

of

of an Inquisition, will elsewhere pass long, since that Court that is used by ordinary Inquisitors for the torturing the Bodies of Christians, and mutilation of the Image of God, cannot be allow'd to shew severity to the body of Sin, to the Image of the Devil in depraved Minds, and that while your unerring Judge of Law and Fact is in Person there presiding? Are not you that suppress the Dictates of your own Universal Pastor such unreasonable Men as we may well pray to be delivered from?

All our Jesuited Papists must still expect Expostulations of this Nature.

Their Head was before at Rome, and their Brains too; but if they now make a Schism from the Pope himself, they will come under the Denomination of *Acephali* (the Name of some ancient Heretics) that is, the People without a Head, unless they will own the *Hydra* of the Jesuits for their Head, which it seems the *Hercules* of Rome could not subdue. I believe many of them will consider what sure footing they have where they are, while they see their *Moses* flying from his own Staff when made a Serpent, I mean his Order of Jesuits, and see the Collusive or Sham-Serpents of the Jesuits devour those of their *Moses*, and Juglers by *Deceptio Visus* and lying to impose on the eyes of the World against the sense and reason of Mankind, and even of the Pope himself, and 'twill be very ridiculous for them, who have been cheated out of their own Religion, to think that some who are the Jesuits Bubbles can cheat us of ours, and that while they are grown Seekers, they should make us loose our Church; and that when the Spiritual Monarchy of the Pope is in a manner Run Down by the Republic or Society of the Jesuits, they should think to cheat us of our King and Church, and that our Religion can be run down by such Spiritual Outlaws, and Rebels against the Pope himself, and such as perhaps the Pope may in time be induced to oblige the World by suppressing after their Injuring all Morality, and the most vital parts of Christian Religion, and the great avow'd use of his Power in the whole Christian Common-wealth, by their Suppression of his said Decree. I hope while the Fan is in his hand he will thoroughly purge his floor, and esteem the Disposals of rich Benefices in France to be poor *Regalia sancti Petri*, for him to vindicate in Comparison of the lives of the Souls of his Flock, that he, and all ingenuous Knowing Mankind, know must be destroy'd by such Casuistical Principles; and without his doing which, he cannot in the least deserve the Title of his Holiness.

For the determining the truth about such Principles, he need not say as one of his Predecessors did about the *Jansenian Speculations*, that he had no skill in Divinity. A very little skill in Natural Divinity (and such as may be had by the Reading a few Lines in Tully's Offices) would accomplish any one with what would demonstrate the things allowed by the Casuists to be unworthy both of the Divine and Humane Nature; and all the Jesuit's Skill in Divinity will never be able to render them otherwise to the World.

I must seriously profess, that one saying of the Great Cicero in that little Book, viz, *Ea deliberanda omnino non sunt, in quibus est turpis ipsa deliberatio*, i.e. Those things are not at all to be deliberated wherein the Deliberation it self is filthy; has in it I think more frank generous Morality included, and that which is more worthy of the ancient Roman and Primitive Christian simplicity, than what all the Libraries stuff'd with Bauny, Escobar, Layman, Le Moine, Navarrus, Azorius, Molina, Tanuerus, Lessuis, Emanuel Sa, Henriquez, and other Numerous Casuistical Jesuits have furnished the world with, wherein they do so nicely and infinitely divide the body of Sin in *semper divisibilia*, and indeed make it an infinite Nothing. But the world I think will not long deliberate what to do with this Casuistical Divinity, of which no truer Description can be

be given, then that 'tis a *Deliberation of Sin*. I do not know any that would eat or drink with another that he thought did *deliberate* to Poison him. *Dum deliberant* (saith *Tacitus*) *desciverunt* : i. e. *While they do deliberate whether they should revolt, they have revolted : their very deliberation and consulting was ipso facto a Revolt.*

I doubt not but many Pious Christians of the Roman Catholic Communion have Complain'd of the effect of their subtle and innumerable distinctions destroying Christianity, in that *style of the Woman in the Gospel, They have taken away My Lord, and I know not where they have Laid him* ; and that Considering those Casuists had so far fear'd their Consciences and brazen'd their Foreheads as in the Patronizing of *Calumny* and other Impieties to defy not only *Christ's Gospel*, but the *Pope's own Canon Law*, many *Papists* importun'd the *Pope* with their Zeal futable to that of the *Psalmist's*, to give that decree, saying, *It is time for thee to work, for they have made void thy Law.*

'Tis notorious that the Canon Law (as bad as it is) is very severe against *Calumny* and *Calumniators*, and especially against Clergy-men that are such, and pronounceth a Clergy-man *infamous* who is convicted of defaming another : and 'twas very well worthy the Vigilance of the *Pope*, not to let the *Jesuits* steal away his Canon Law from him.

But this must needs be very *diverting* to this *inquiring Age*, to see Protestants as well as Papists accounting the *Popes* reducing some immorallities to the *Test* of his own *Canon Law*, a piece of *Reformation*, and the *Pope* struggling to effect it, and hindred by the *Jesuits* therein.

According to the former expression, *it is time for the Pope to work* and to *Null* that *Order* that thus *nulls* his aforesaid *Decree* in the sight of an *awaken'd World*, and is else likely to Null his Church, the *Patience* of Mankind being the less able longer to bear the weight of *Jesuitical Calumnies* by its having endured them so long.

The truth is, the Great and Original Cause of the founding of that *Order* being to cut Heretics Throats, (for at this plain rate we must speak and call a Spade a Spade when they are digging our Graves with it) it was necessary for them to use the art of *blackening* of Heretics by Calumnies as the Prologue to that Tragedy, the which would cause the Heretics to fall unpity'd ; and 'twas necessary to make that *black art* as lawful as they Could, that so they might have their *quietus* from the World for the arrear of their pass'd frauds, and not fear accounting for future ones.

But as these men *will not recede from their Art*, so neither will *Nature* recede from it *self*, and our Critical English World now having occasion to pass Judgment of their Calumnies, is *naturally* enforced to Consider their former *Shammes* in States and Kingdomes to aggravate their present ones, as Judges still in the Case of Malefactors are obliged to take notice of their having been formerly branded for the same Crimes.

The execrable *Shamme* made against the *Admiral* and others as conspiring to kill the *King of France*, and giving provocation to the *Parisian Massacre*, will never be forgot ; nor the *Shamme* that was provided to have charged the *Puritans* with the *Gun-Powder Treason* ; nor that of the *Irish Rebels*, who were so outrageously impudent as to pretend the Commission of our *Royal Martyr* for their Butcheries : Nor yet that of the *Jesuites* having effected heretofore in *Bohemia*, and lately in *Hungary*, that *Counterfeit and forged Letters* should be found in the Custody of the Protestants, to charge them with Crimes against *Cæsar*. The *Memorial of the Sufferings of the Protestant Ministers in Hungary at the Instigation of the Popish Clergy there*, printed for William Nott, in the Pallmall, 1676. shews it at Large, where 'tis said,

They did not (against the Ministers) insist much on the Particulars that relate to Religion, but great endeavours were used to prove them Complices of the Rebellion, the which their Advocates and Council did manifestly disprove, and the Resident of the States of the United Provinces at Vienna did afterward in a Memorial to the Emperour fully and solidly refute. Tho the Ministers were indicted in form of Law, for having assisted the Rebels by their Council, and supply'd them with Provisions, and for having Made way for the Turks to Come in and wast that Kingdome, yet none of them (as that Discourse sets forth) was convicted thereof, nor one clear Testimony brought to prove that any one was a Complice of that Rebellion.

That discourse shews that the *Advocatus Fisci* did exhibit everal Letters to prove all the Ministers Complices of that Rebellion, but that many and great presumptions evinced that these Letters were never produced, tho it was frequently demanded by the Ministers and their Advocates that they might be, and that yet they could never obtain any thing but a printed Copy of them; and tho the Advocates for the Ministers did often press the Fiscal to declare when, where or how he came by these Letters, yet that was never done.

That Author having p. 10. mentioned the vile art of Calumny, That the Jesuits try'd to exterminate the Protestants out of Hungary by, speaks in p. 11th. of the effects of their endeavours, saying, that upon a full account it can be made appear that at several times before and after the Citation against the Protestants, (meaning the Citation to that vile Process) there were above 1200 Churches of them suppressed.

It must needs then appear very Ridiculous to the World, that when there is not a third part of Hungary (that old Bulwark of Christendom against the Turks) remaining in the Emperors hands, (for so Dr. Brown in his late Travels there Computes it) that these Nominal fellows of Christ by nominal crimes charged on real Christians, should endanger the exterminating of Christianity out of the European World, and the making the Emperor not long so much as a Nominal King in Germany it self, and that the Emperor should be more afraid of the Itch of his remote Subjects, then of the plague of his nearer Foes, and that the Jesuits disliking the Itch alter new Doctrines in the Hungarians should be reputed good advising Doctors, who counsel him to pass the time in scratching and lancing with his nails his own members, when many Thousands of armed men are designing against his Life and Crown, and when his Empire is brought to such a state, that as 'twas said of the Roman Empire when devolv'd on Germany, that one might *querere Imperium in Imperio*, that the danger now hangs over it of the German Empire being there sought too, and all by the true Real *Imperium in Imperio* of the Jesuits there.

And indeed the *biceps aquila*, which is the Insigne or Arms of the Empire, might be properly of late refer'd to the *divisum Imperium* the Emperor had with the Jesuits, whom to every abecedarian in Politics 'tis known to be more his interest during the present grandeur of France, to dismiss from his Councils, than ever 'twas the Venetians to deal so with the Ecclesiastics.

My Lord, I should not have thought it good manners to have been so copious in the exercise of your Lordships Patience with the particularities of the unmoral or unmannerly doctrine of the Casuists as to the Point of Calumny, but that I thought some Oyl of these Scorpions that you have not the leisure to extract out of their dead Authors, might be useful to you in the repelling the venom of their stings sooner then you are aware.

And indeed as 'tis observed, that the Last bitings of some dying animals are most fierce, so is it likely to be with their last efforts, namely those of their Calumnies against Protestants, which I believe will likewise be their *derniers Resort*,

Resort; and 'tis therefore your Lordships and every Protestants Concern, who is a Lover of Justice, to know that you wrong'd any Jesuited Papists, if in Capital Causes you did believe them not to *practice* in that case the *Principle* they *profess*, namely the making *Calumny* venial, a thing so expressly own'd in the 15th Letter of the *Les Provinciales*, that they were Call'd by some of the *Sorbon* on that account *Quintadecimani*, in allusion to the *Quartadeciman Heretics* of old.

'Tis said in that 15th Letter, That this is so notorious a Doctrine of their Schools that they maintained it not only in their books but also in their public Theses, which certainly is the height of Confidence, as among others in their Theses of Louvain of the Year 1645. in these termes, It is only a venial Sin to Calumniate, and impose false Crimes, to ruine their Credit who speak ill of us: quidni non nisi veniale fit, detrahentis auctoritatem tibi noxiam falso crimine elidere? and this doctrine is so much in vogue among you, that you treat him as an Ignorant and Temerarious person, who presumes any way to oppose it: and presently after, tis related how Father Dicastellus said, that to prove that twas no Mortal Sin to use Calumny though grounded on absolute falsities, against a Calumniator, he had brought a Cloud of their Fathers to witness it, and whole Universities Consisting of them all whom he had Consulted, and among others the Reverend Father John Gans Confessor to the EMPEROR, all the public and ordinary Professors of the University of Vienna, (consisting wholly of Jesuits) and that he had likewise on his side Father Pennalossa a Jesuit Preacher to the Emperor, &c.

But the aforesaid probable opinion of Calumny will never be received in this Age of Demonstration, and since the old Roman Laws enjoyn a *Juramentum Calumniae*, an Oath of Calumny, (as was before remark'd) whereby every litigant was to invoke God as Witness and Revenger about his not using any false proof knowingly, the Christian World in this Knowing Age will know those who make the use of false proofs knowingly to be a Venial Sin, and it must certainly appear ridiculous to Judges and Jurors to give the least respect to such gamesters Oaths who trumpet forth that Principle that 'tis a Venial Sin to use false Dice of the Law to make true ones of Protestants Bones.

My Lord, I am not so unjust and uncharitable as to cast a brand on the Body of the Papists, as not being capable of the Dignity of Witnesses.

I doubt not but there are in the external Communion of the Church of Rome very many Thousands who by Divine Grace are kept from Communicating with that Church in many of its Principles and Practices, and that invincible ignorance may render many of them excusable, and that the great mortifications and austerities and zealous devotions not only among many persons of their Religious Orders, but of the Common people, shewing them heroically Vertuous, do entitle them to have their testimony in any matters of fact received with honour equal with that of the best Protestants.

And as to many of our Papists in England it must be with Justice acknowledged, that their having descended from antient Families, and having had ingenuous Education, and plentiful Fortunes, and their having seen the World abroad, where they have observed many of the Principles of the Jesuits as much detested by Papists as they can be by Protestants, and their generous inclinations to serve Virtue and Morality, may well secure us from fears of their being imposed on by Jesuits to use little or great unholy Shammes and Calumnies for the good of holy Church, a sort of Penance that must needs seem odious in Nature to well-bred Gentlemen and Men of Estates, not tempted like little hungry Greeks to leap up to Heaven, or down to Hell for bread, under the which mean classe of Mankind (according to my intelligence) those Papists

pists have generally fallne who have been famous for Shamming and Subornation as to the late Plot.

'Tis therefore no wonder that *Papists* in the *Low-Countries* are not tempted to use any *Shammes* to promote their Religion, it being necessity that compels men to turpitude, and the very *Alms-men* there not being *ad incitas redacti*.

And against some of our *English* *Papists*, being allowed to be dignitaries as to faith of testimony, whom I have before described, I shall never except.

But for any *English* *Papist* who is a believer of the *Tenets* of the *Jesuits*, and some other *Casuits* to Expect to be believ'd against any that honors not their Society, (which none that upholds humane Society and would not have Mankind trick'd out of the Light and Law of Nature can do) is to render a man irreverent to himself and his Maker, and to shew his want of a *Curator* by the prodigality of his Faith, especially when he shall call to mind how *Del Rio* the famous *Jesuit* affirm'd that the *Dominicans* ought not to be allowed as witnesses against the *Jesuites*, a charge that *Guymenius* p. 127, & 128. in vain Contends to evade.

But this their *dernier Resort* (as I call'd it) of their use and application of their erroneous or rather diabolical doctrine of Calumny, must certainly be fatal to them; according to that Proverb in the Gospel about the last error, *Et erit novissimus error peior priore*. The High Priests and Pharisees came to Pilate saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said while he was yet alive, After three dayes I will rise again; Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made sure till the third day, lest his Disciples come by Night and steal him away and say to the people he is risen from the dead: So the Last error shall be worse than the first: and they Judged right enough of the Last error Confounding more than the First, as it is the force of the Last motion from a Precipice that breaks a man in pieces; and this effect of the last error was presently exemplify'd in themselves; for they having caus'd the holy Sepulchre to be very strongly guarded, and the Door of it to be barricado'd with a very great Stone, and that Stone to be seal'd, and the Lord of Glory after all this overpowering the Grave and Guards, they had a Consult and gave the Guards Money to spread that *Shamme* in the World, that his Disciples did steal him away while the Guards slept, and saith St. Mathew, *this is reported among the Jews to this day*.

And lo, as Christ did rise for our Justification, so did this Subornation used by those Impostors justify the truth of his Resurrection, which else could not so well have confronted the Worlds incredulity: for if after his Resurrection his Disciples believed not *Mary Magdalen*, *Joanna*, and the Mother of *James*, who told them that he had appear'd to them, and if the two Disciples that told the Rest that he had appear'd to them going to *Emmans* were not believ'd by them, and if when he appear'd in the midst of Ten of them at once and shew'd them his hands and his side, they believ'd not for joy, and if when he appear'd to the Women and bade them tell the Disciples and St. Peter, that according to his Promise they should see him in *Galilee*, and if the Eleven Disciples went into *Galilee* to a Mountain which he had appointed them, and yet when they saw him there they worship'd but some doubted, and if Christ almost in his Last words upbraided them with their unbelief, because they believ'd not them who had seen him after he was risen, the Pagan and Jewish World would not have been brought so easily as they were to the belief of his Resurrection, the great hinge on which the Christian Religion turns, and without which the Preaching of the Cross would not so much have seem'd foolishness as been madness.

Thus did that last Jewish error prove most fatal to Judaisme, and as Heaven

ven was extracted by the Divine Power out of the Hellish act of Murdering the holy Jesus, so was the propagation of the truth of his Resurrection out of the Calumny, Subornation and Bribery used to suppress it; those artifices being so odious in the eye of the Law of all Nations, that they make any that uses them to gain infamy and loose his Cause, and to make sure of the hatred of one very Considerable Enemy, namely Mankind; and justly, for against that great Body is every one that professeth Calumny an aggressor, and has proclaimed War.

And Granting that Nature is Constant to it self, and that conclusions of the working of the Passions in humane Nature in future times may be made from the past, Our *Quarrel-decimators* (tho' their Order seems in many political Principles to be close compassed like the scales of *Leviathan*,) by the publishing of the Tenets before mentioned and constant practice of them have brought themselves into the shallows, and they are like *Whales* on ground gazed on by the Critical World, and there labouring under the faculty of their own weight.

It has been observed by that deep Enquirer into Nature, *Monsieur Desfontaines*, that *Le bon sens est chose du monde, mieux partagée &c.* Nothing is more equally distributed by Nature among Men than Understanding and Reason, for every Man thinks he has enough: and of this opinion was Mr. *Hobbes* in that Chapter in his *Leviathan*, of the Natural condition of Mankind, where he saith, That as to the Faculties of the Mind there is a greater equality among men then that of Strength: for prudence, saith he, is but experience which equal time bestows on all men in those things they equally apply themselves to.

That which perhaps makes such equality incredible, is but a vain conceit of ones own wisdom, which all mortal men think they have in a greater degree than the Vulgar, that is then all men but themselves and a few others whom by some or for Concurring, with themselves they approve: for such is the Nature of men, that howsoever they may acknowledge many others to be more Witty or more Elloquent or more Learned, yet they will hardly believe many so wise as themselves: for they see their own witt at hand, and other mens at distance.

But this proves rather that men are in that Point equal than unequal: For there is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of any thing, then that every man is Content with his share.

Admitting this great observation of those two great Masters of Witt and Philosophy to be true, One would suppose that Nature did not in vain implant in men such a general notion of their equality in Wisdom, nor without an intent of promoting the good of humane Society thereby. The God of Nature hath not only not given us any members of our bodies, but not the very hair of our eye-browes, nor even the hairs of our eye-lids in vain; for our eye-lids are fortify'd with those little stiff bristles as with palisado's against the assaults of *Flyes* and such like bold animalcula: and I may say, that that general Notion doth defend the Eyes of mens Minds from being too easily imposed on by particular Notions and Shammes occurring to us from any.

And as to that notion so universally planted in mens Souls by Nature, one may well imagine that what a Gardiner plants in every bed of his Garden, is no weed; and perhaps one great End of Nature in the general implantation of this principle in men may be The shewing them the folly and danger of their attempts, who think to engross that great Staple Commodity of the intellectual World call'd *Wisdom*, and to force others to buy that Commodity of which they think they have enough of their own by them, and especially when they see that others would force a trade on them by counterfeit Wares, and have been already branded for so doing.

The truth is, every man's life who pretends to a greater share of Wisdom than his Neighbour, is in the better state of security by this Notion before-mentioned: for if a man thought others by their Wisdom could render his ineffectual for his preservation, he would fear and hate them for their ability to hurt him: and as Toads tho' not known to do any hurt are kill'd some times for the imagin'd precious Stones in their heads, such might be the fate of men for the value of their Brains, and which *depreciate* the worth of others. I conclude therefore that any Order or Society must take what follows from being thought *Nusances* and *Enemies* to Mankind, and prepare for a political death or dissolution, who think themselves able by artifices to devert men of the property they have in their Understandings, and to *out-wit* their wisdom, and who both hang out to the World a new light, and proclaim a new Law of Nature contrary to the old, (notwithstanding the loud-cry of Nations that *nolumus legem naturæ mutari*.) and who *Calumniate* all that allow not the doctrine of *Calumny*, and *invent Crimes* to Cut off the heads that will not ly at their feet, tho' yet they can invent no crimes (even *Regicide* nor excepted) but what the *Invention* of their *Theology* has made lawful, and think that an *hypothesis* may *renitente mundo* call it self *Religion* or *Politics*, which if it were universally receiv'd, would not leave the World one minute out of a *State of Warr*, for it *ipso facto* dissolves all *Pactions*, and *cancels* all *Allegiance*, and nulls all hopes of *Protection*; inso much that in a *Gaming-house* that agreed on cheating, the play could not be worth the candles at a days end, and each of the cheaters must be reduced to *beat* by himself; and thus too any one that makes fraud venial, cannot be sure that any participants with him in *Sedition* will keep their word; and he must rebel by himself too against an irritated world, that was never made only for any to play in and with, and which must needs with inconceivable regret see those men who make all accusations and testimony in nature *uncertain*, instrumental in the inflicting of the punishment of *Certain* death thereupon, and see a *Religion* that is dying a *Natural* death, make any Religious men dy by a *violent*, and observe that its inventors do in a *positive* and *dictatorian* way propound Principles that such *sturdy propounders* cannot themselves believe, till like *Geta*, a Citizen of *Rome*, who having long as a *disguise* wore a patch over one of his Eyes, he lost the use of it for ever, they have by habituating their Understandings long to *diffimulation*, lost the use of their faculty of discerning.

And this is the Case between Mankind and the *Jesuits*, neither better nor worse, and is like to be the fate of these, and especially Considering that their Principles have both Weight and Numbers to Contest with, I mean the weight of Arguments, and the Numbers of their own and our Religion.

There is no Resisting the Power of Nature where those two things meet.

We see by frequent observation in our own Land, that the very *breath* of the people like that of a *Canon Bullet* proves destructive, and what then will not the breath of incensed Mankind do?

They have Numbers to Contest with that their Principles have infected with *Calumny*, who think it scarce a *Venial Sin* to pay any man in the false *Coyn* that was received from him, and who will be making it as lawful as they Can, not to play upon the square with false Gamesters: and as the strong are naturally apt to repel force by force, so are the weak, to repel fraud by fraud, and will be tempted to make an ill use of the *lex talionis*, and to account the pursuing of them with wild defamatory Reports to be but following them in their own Wild-goose-chace.

Farrigius

Jarrigius in his Book printed together with that call'd the *Jesuits on the Scaffold*, saith, While there was any thing of the League left in France, all the slight the Jesuits had to weaken the authority and elude the unavoidable accusations of the Pasquiers, the Servines, the Arnauds of that time was to persuade the Credulous people, that those incomparable Men were fautors of Calvinisme, and thereby imagin'd themselves sufficiently vindicated as to the horrid Crimes and execrable Parricides wherewith they were charged by those illustrious Officers of State in France, if in some wretched answers they accused them of heresie. So stale and senseless has that humour of the Jesuites been to call all that opposed them, Presbyterians.

But any who reads the very Learned Epistle of the Bishop of Lincoln to the discourse of the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason Printed in the Year 1679. will find that he there Cites Alphon. de Vargas Toletanus for saying, That all the Universities of Spain, in a Book against the Jesuits printed and sent to the King of Spain, give this Character of them, that they are fraudulent mendaces, veritatis interversores, Infamatores virtutis, Impositores Pietatis Velo operti, lupi in vestimentis ovium, Novitatum amici, Sanctorum Doctorum Contemptores, Lutheri & Calvinii partarii, ac de hæresi suspecti, pacis publicæ perturbatores, Diabolicæ Industrie homines, serpentes, ipsiq; Cacodæmones ac ab omnibus Cavendi ac fugiendi: fraudulent, lyars, Corrupters of truth, defamers of Virtue, Impostors under a veil of Piety, Wolves in sheeps clothing, lovers of Noveltries, Contemners of the holy Doctors, partners with Calvin and Luther, and suspected of heresie, troublers of the Public Peace, men of Diabolical industry, Serpents, and very Devils, and to be shun'd and avoided, or fled from by all men.

Thus their hands and heads being against every one, by a tacit Paction and Confederation of Nature almost all mens are so against them.

They and other Casuists and Jesuited Papists have complain'd of Shammes and Calumnies put on them by Protestants in England since the Plott; and no doubt if they have not suffer'd in that kind, they may expect it, all Protestants having not attain'd to the temper of St. Michael the Arch-Angel to forbear Railing accusations, nor to the holiness of St. Bartholomew, who 'tis said by continual Prayer had his Knees as hard as a Camels.

I have read of an Antidote against the Poyson of Calumny and false testimony beyond what Protestants could Compass, namely, an Indulgence granted by Pope Innocent the 8th to every man and woman that bears upon him or her the length of Christs Nails wherewith he was fastned to the Cross, (the Just length of which was Nine Inches) and worships them daily with five Pater-Nosters, and five Aves and a Creed, that he or she shall have granted them, these great gifts: the first is that he shall never dye a sudden, nor evil death: the second is that he shall never be slain with the Sword or weapon: the third is, his Enemies shall never overcome him: the fourth is poyson, nor false witness shall never grieve him.

By my Consent every Protestant and Papist shall in this Pestilential time of Shammes Carry this Antidote about him; but whether this be a Shamme-Indulgence or no, and put upon the Pope, and invented by Some non-Papists, I know not. My Author for 'it is Mr. John Gee, Master of Arts of Exeter Colledge in Oxford, in his Book 4^{to} Call'd New Shreds of the Old Snare, p. 103. Printed at London in the Year 1624. In any such wretched Contention between the *sax Romuli* and any of the Protestants here who should become most impure by Calumny, as the Protestants being much more Numerous than the Papists would be able to out-shamme them, and to make the more plain detections of the Shammes contriv'd by their Adversaries, it would likewise go the harder with any Sect, that the Majority of Numbers would thus run down

down with Shammes in this Nation at this Conjunction of time, when the many swarms of those who offer at *Wit*, and think they merit the being call'd *Witts*, by doing the exercise in a Coffey-house, Call'd *Baldring*, that is, with a serious grave face, telling idle feign'd Stories *farced* with particular Circumstances to ensnare the belief of the Credulous, which kind of ungenerous triumphing over weak Understandings by ridiculous *Shammes*, is a false sort of *wit* and *humour* below not only the gravity of the *English* Nation, but the levity of the *French*, and used by none but *Fools* who stand for the place of being *Knaves*.

There is no doubt but the talent of these foolish Shammers as their interest and dependances or humors incline them to wish well either to Popery or Protestantcy extending to abuse the belief of the unthinking *Volgar* with little *romantic Stories* concerning those Religions, helps to Convey them into the *Press* which gives wings to these *Shams* presently to fly round the Kingdom.

If the Papists think the *Press* hath not in any of the Pamphlets it dayly spits, charged them with *Calumny*, and of Such a Nature as to bring universal odium on them by alarming the Kingdom almost as much as it could be by forrain invasion, and occasionally laying a Tax on men to buy what Arms for their defence the Law allowes, I will ask them what they think of one of our printed *Intelligences* that Came out on the 26th of February 1682, wherein 'tis said, *Last Fryday came a Letter from Stafford, directed to one Bacchus Tenant to the Lord Stafford from one Wilson in Cheshire, but ordered to be left with one Finny of Stafford to be sent to the said Bacchus: but Finny observing Letters so directed to pass through his hands, and apprehending they might relate to some dangerous Correspondence, took the liberty to Open this, and therein to his great surprize found directions to Bacchus for burning of Stafford and several great Towns: upon which making a speedy discovery to a Magistrate, Bacchus was sent for, who after some evasions did confess he had received Letters to that purpose. And just now the said Wilson is apprehended and committed, and confesseth he was by the order of a Certain Lord, to fire Stafford, Drayton, Shrewsbury, Nantwich, Chester, Congerton, New-Castle Under-Line, and two more, and that he was to have 900 l. for firing those Nine Towns.*

I having never heard of any Proclamation or proceedings either of the Magistracy or Lieutenancy of this Kingdom after such an alarm of public hostility and of a Rebellion hatch'd in the Kingdom, nor of the last punishment inflicted on the pretended Certain Lord that was the General of those *Incendiaries*, did look on them under the Notion of an *Army in disguise*.

But whatever ground the Protestant Religion hath got or shall get by these poor means, I desire that it may go to the Next occupant; for not only the ayr it exhales is Pestilential, but it includes that ayr in it which may produce Earthquakes, which dangers therefore the New Popish or Jesuited Religion must be exposed to by the ayr of *Shams* and *Calumnies*.

My Lord, I shall here entertain your Lordship with somewhat very Remarkable out of the *Book of Father Parsons of the Succession*, whereby you will see that instead of Allowing the *oportet esse haereses*, he doth in effect tell us, that while the Kingdom has two Religions in it, *oportet esse Calumnias*: that great Jesuite having with much agility danced on the high rope as to the *Casuistical* part of the *Question* of the *Succession*, affects to do it too in the *Politics*, but miss'd his Center of gravity in his motion both as a *Divine* and a *States-man*, and did shamefully fall in either Capacity, as your Lordship will find by the reading of his words. He saith, p. 217. being near the Conclusion of the first part of his Book, *And thus much now for matter of Conscience.*

science. But if we Consider Reason of State also and worldly Policy, it Cannot be but great folly and oversight for a man of whatsoever Religion he be, to promote to a Kingdom in which himself must live one of a Contrary Religion to himself: for let the bargains and agreements be what they will, and fair promises and vain hopes never so great, yet seeing the Prince once made and settled, must needs proceed according to the Principles of his own Religion, it follows also, that he must Come quickly to break with the other party, tho he loved him never so well (which yet perhaps is very hard if not impossible for two of different Religions to love sincerely) but if it were so, yet many jealousies, suspicions, accusations, Calumniation, and other aversions must needs light upon the Party that is of different Religion from the State and Prince under whom he lives, as not only he Cannot be Capable of such Preferments, Honours, Charges, Government and the like, which men may deserve and desire in their Commonwealth, but also he shall be in Continual danger, and subject to a thousand molestations and injuries, which are incident to the Condition and state of him that is not Current with the same Course of his Prince and Realm in matters of Religion; and so before he be aware, he becomes to be accounted an Enemy or backward man: which in Mind he must either dissemble deeply, and against his own Conscience make shew to favour and set forward that which in his heart he doth detest, which is the greatest Calamity and Misery of all other, tho yet many times not sufficient to deliver him from suspicion; or else to avoid this everlasting perdition, he must break with all the temporal Commodities of this life, which his Country and Realm might yield him; and this is the ordinary end of all such men, how soft and sweet soever the beginning be.

This Jesuite (who was before mention'd to have been Call'd one of the greatest Men that his Order has produced) was here (it seems) a States-man in his heart, and no More: and has very honestly foretold all Protestants that shall live under a Prince of another Religion, how dishonest Roman Catholics will prove to them. The Jesuite was here an Almanac-maker, who predicted nothing to Protestants but Lightning and Thunder, and too the Continual Raining of Snares upon them during such a Conjunction, and the causing each of them to be with the darts of Calumny and obloquy for ever stuck round like the figure of the man in the Almanac: but how foolish Father Parsons was to write this when the Protestants had the Ball at their foot, and when he could not be sure that the Papists would ever arrive at the state, to have it alwayes at theirs, let any one Judge. He had before used that rhetorical expression, that so the Ship be well and happily guided, I esteem it not much important of what Race or Nation the Pilot be, but he was extremely impolitic, by so early and public an alarm to notify it to many who thought that embarked in the Civil Government of a Prince of any Religion, they might be safely transported from this World to the Next, that Popish Masters of the Ship have determin'd before-hand to throw all heterodox Passengers overboard, and their own Oaths and engagements to them likewise.

But what ever person takes a *promissory* Oath with an intent of not keeping it, may well be Concluded as actually guilty of perjury in the Court of Heaven, as he who knowingly takes a false *assertory* Oath. They have both equally presumed to try by solemn lying to weather the fear of Divine Omniscience and Omnipotence, and both their *assertory* and *promissory* Oaths are of equal weight in the ballance of humane judgment.

And because I think the Argument will hold from the falsity of their Oaths *promissory* in this their *dernier Resort* aforesaid, to the obtaining the Worlds Sentence against the truth of their Oaths *assertory*, I shall entertain your Lordship with an instance of one of the Church of Rome, of whom it may be said, that a Greater than Father Parsons is here, to vindicate the

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making

making of Oaths *promissory* with an intent of breaking them, and 'tis Pope Clement the 8th, of whom *Danæus* saith in his *Chronology* of Popes, that he was πολιτικός, the 'O Politician, as I may say, of whom *D'Ossat* in his Third Book, Letter 81, viz. to *Villeroy* in the Year 1597, speaking there how he had discover'd the Popes Inclinations, that the King of France should break with England, and that he told his Holiness that the King's making a particular profession to keep his word would not suffer him to break that Alliance that had been so lately renew'd and sworn, saith, that the Pope thereupon reply'd, That that Oath was made to a heretic, and that his Majesty had made another Oath to God and the Pope: And further mentions what the Pope had told him at other times and in the precedent audience, That Kings and Soverain Princes did permit to themselves all things that turn'd to their profit, and that none blamed them for it or took it ill from them, and alledged to that purpose a Saying of *Francisco Maria Duke of Urbin*, who was wont to say, That if a plain Gentleman broke his word he would be dishonour'd by it; but that Soverain Princes for Reason of State without any great blame might make Treaties and break them, and Mentir, trahir, & toutes telles autres choses, i. e. Ly, and betray, and do all things of that nature: whereupon saith *D'Ossat*, I had but too much to reply to that, but I did not think it my duty there to stay myself in a place so slippery. But toward the close of the Letter he adds, By what is abovesaid you see tho the Pope has no disrespect for the King of France, nor any love for the King of Spain; yet the hatred that he has for Heretics, transports him so far, that he lets fall from his Mouth (tho under the Name of another) some pernicious Maxims unworthy of an honest man, and that the Pope accounts all ways good for his Majesty to break with his Allies, because they are not Catholics, altho those ways are infamous. I am so far a Concurrer with that Pope, as to think that according to the Law of Nature and Nations, the Oath and Promise to the first of any Prince's Allies is most obligatory; and therefore the Pope doth very honestly notify his opinion, that *Harry the 4th* intended not to keep any promissory Oath Contrary to that made to God and himself. But the Pope mistakes the factum of that Great Prince's Oaths; and 'tis for the honour of the Roman Catholic Religion, that it has left to Posterity so great an instance of a Protestant Prince turn'd a Papist, and Continuing kind to the persons of Protestants. But they owed no thanks to the Pope or Jesuites for his making or keeping Promises and Alliances with Protestants. The *Bohemian History* tells us how *Ferdinand* about the Year 1617, before he was possesst of that Crown, did by Oath bind himself, that *Matthew* being alive he would not meddle with any of the affairs of Bohemia, much less with Religion: but immediately after his Coronation, he going into Moravia to receive homage, the Jesuites erected at Olumacium a Triumphant Arch, and painted on it among the Arms of Austria, the Lion of Bohemia tyed to it with a Chain, and the Eagle of Moravia with a sleeping Hare lying with open Eyes, and this Emblem writ under it, I have practised. But the Year following, a new erected Academy of Jesuites spoke out in Print, that tho *Ferdinand* at his Coronation took an Oath to the Heretics, yet first he left it in the Vestry of the Church, that he would not suffer Heretics to prejudice the Rights of holy Church.

But I believe I may without offending any Candid Papists, say of that Pope, that when he discours'd as that Letter mentions; the glory of his Infallibility shined not out of his Mouth, as *Porphry* said that *Plotinus* his Soul did when he spake.

The Story is trite concerning a Popes Excommunicating a Bishop of his Church, for owning that there were Antipodes; but there is a sort of greater Excommunication that any Jesuited Papists are to expect that are the Antipodes to ingenuous Mankind, and who make Assertory or Promissory lying to be

be venial, or lawful, and that is thus to be *excluded* from the *Communio fidelium* (tho without the Ceremony of lighting Torches and extinguishing them), namely, by Gentlemens forbearing to keep them Company, and *esteeming them worse than Publicans or Heathens*, and accounting it neither safe nor honorable to Correspond with the Enemies of Mankind; and this is the Sentence, namely that of a kind of *Civil Excommunication* or seclusion from ingenuous mens *Conversation* that they are likely to obtain in *England* after all their charge and pains in their *dernier Resort*, and the having seen the *birth* of their Plott confounded, and the *after-birth* of it, namely its Shams thrown away.

Since No *injury* wounds so much as a *Contempt*, and since they by trampling on our Understandings with More pride than ever *Bajazet* walk'd over the dead heads of Christians, affect to try to bring us implicitly to believe their Shammes, they are to thank themselves for our not giving decent burial to any of their undecent Plotts, and for the exasperating any Protestants by *despising* them, and endeavouring to *impose* on their Understandings as some did on a raw young Country Gentleman, whom one day treating at a *Puppet-shew*, they persuaded that the Puppets were living Creatures, and after he had found out his gross ridiculous misconceit therein, they on the following day attending him to the *Theatre*, engaged him to believe that the *Actors* were *Puppets*: I mean, their endeavoring to make us believe that Sham-Plotts were real ones, and that a real one was *Shamme*.

I shall never wonder at the encrease of the passion of anger incident to humane Nature even in great and generous Souls, on the occasion of gross Calumnies invented against them about a matter of weight, when I consider the Example of the Great *Royal Prophet*, a Person of a great Understanding, and of so great *Courage*, that he was not afraid of Ten thousands of men who set themselves against him round about, and tho an Host should encamp against him, his heart would not fear, and a Man that had in his Nature and temper the Gentleness of a Lamb mixt with the stoutness of a Lyon, and one to whom the Divine Promise had ensured a Kingdom; and yet was he by the *Sycophancies* and little Shammes rais'd against him by *Saul's* great Courtiers, wrought to so high a pitch of anger, that he did with exquisite forms of *imprecation*, and such as perhaps are not to be found in any other Story, frequently devote those Calumniators to the most dire Miseries his fancy could lead him to express. But the Cause of his being so highly provoked by those that would turn his glory into shame, and did seek after leasing, and whose deceitful tongues used all-devouring words, as he saith to Doeg the Edomite in one of his *Psalms*, (and whose tongue he there says did devise mischiefs, like a sharp razor working deceitfully) may be ascribed to the Shammes of his Enemies wounding him in the most sensible Part, namely the Reputation of his *Loyalty* to his *Prince*, whose Life he spared when 'twas in his power to destroy him, and who was so far from the use of Shammes against him, that he doom'd the *Amulekite* to dy, that shammd himself the author of *Saul's* death.

And therefore No marvel if the Calumnies of Jesuited Papists attacking Protestants in that Case too of their Fidelity to their King, render the passion of anger in them against those Shams so intense and vehement. And tho the *English* Courage or a very little Philosophy would help them to bestow only a generous neglect on other Calumnies, they can never forget those that strike at the heart of their allegiance, and consequently of their Religion that so strictly enjoyns it. Nor if according to the Example of that great man after Gods heart, who said, *Away from me all ye that work vanity*, and who would have No lyer tarry in his sight, is it to be admired if every true *English* Protestant

testant shall say too, *odi Ecclesiam malignantium*, and shall seclude all dictators of Calumny from his company, and banish them home to their own.

And tho the abuse of Excommunication by the Papal Church and Presbyterian hath been so horrid, that the primitive use of it is in a manner lost and grown obsolete, yet will that which includes somewhat of the Nature of it be still kept alive in the World by *private* persons who practice the Christian Religion they profess, (and to whom tho the Precepts of the New Testament have not given that hateful thing to humane Nature in charge, namely to be Informers, or Promoters, or judicial accusers of any of Mankind, accordingly as under the *Mosaic* oeconomy 'twas said, *Tu non eris criminator*, yet have they obliged them to *withdraw themselves from men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, and not to eat with any one who is call'd a Brother and is a railer, and to turn away from men that are truce-breakers, and to mark those who cause divisions, and to avoid them, and to reject a Heretic who is subverted and self-condemned,*) and by men of Cultivated educations and tempers, who value themselves on the Company they keep, and on it are valued by the World, and will therefore abandon or excommunicate from their Conversation such *Monsters of men*, who have renounced the obligations of humane society, and who are guilty of Notorious *Contumacy* in matters that concern the very Salvation of Souls, and the Safety of Kingdoms. The being *staked down* therefore to a Narrower *Tedder* in Conversation, or being Civilly Excommunicated from Protestants Company, must by necessity of Nature, in my opinion, be the *fate* of our Jesuited *make-bates* and *criminator*s of Protestants that have been so unweary'd in raising Jealousies between the King and his People, and between Protestant and Protestant; and all such that go to part *whom God and Nature and Interest have joyn'd*, will probably come at last to be the *derelicts* of humane Society when they shall Come to be *understood*, and especially when there shall be that good *understanding* between Protestants here of several persuasions that may be expected to arise from their having found out the authors of their divisions, and seen how ridiculous *Protestants* have been in the view of the World while they have appear'd like the *Cat* to draw one another through the Pool, and the Jesuits and their Pensioners stood behind undiscern'd, and pull'd the Rope.

My Lord, I know we may justly fear that *Popery* may during some *turbid* intervals gain ground in *England*, and as the Renowned Historian of our Reformation hath in a public Sermon Judiciously observed, that *Sure none believed themselves when they say we are not in danger of Popery, and none can think it but they who desire it.*

But without presuming to make my self one of Heavens Privy Counsellors, and without pretending to a spirit of Prophecy, I shall on the *basis* of the Course of Nature ground this affirmation, *That whatever alterations Time can Cause, yet while the English Nation remains entire and defended from Foreign Conquest, the Protestant Religion Can never be exterminated out of this Kingdom, nor the public profession of it suffer any long interruption therein.*

I will grant it possible that hereafter under a Prince of the Popish Religion, *Popery* may like the *vibration* of a *pendulum* among Certain persons have the greater extent in the return of it, as *Becket's Image* was by *Gardiner* set up in *London* *μετα πολλῆς παντασίας*, with much *pomp* in *Queen Mary's time*, after its being pull'd down in *Harry the Eighth's*, and himself unfainted, and some people may undertake devout *Pilgrimages* hereafter to some such Images and Reliques as my Lord *Herbert* saith were in *Harry the Eighth's time* exploded, and we may again hear of our *Lady's Girdle* shewn in eleven several places, and her

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Milk in eight, the Bell of St. Guthlac, and the Felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster both Remedies for the head-ake; the Pen-knife and Books of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his Shirt much reverenc'd by great belly'd women; the coals that roasted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Ursula, Malchus his Ear, and the paring of St. Edmund's Nails, and likewise the trumperies of the Rood of Grace at Boxly in Kent, and in Hales in Gloucestershire, things named as trumperies in p. 495, and 496, by Herbert in that History, and as adjudged to be such by H. the 8th.

And no doubt but the Number of such would be very great, who having great Summs of Money given them, would be content to offer small ones in Devotion to such Images; and many Candidates for preferment, among some that now look big for, and among Dissenters that look big against the Church of England, would produce *Certificates* of their *Constant good affection and Zeal* for the Roman Catholic Church; and any *Legate* that came to reconcile us to the Church of Rome, would be thought by many to have brought the *Holy-Ghost* in his *Sumpters*, tho we know what the *Infide* of *Campegius* his was made of.

It is moreover possible that Protestant writers may come not to have that freedom of the Press that Popish now have, and all the luxury and wantonness and humor of the Press in sending forth innumerable Pamphlets against Popery, in this Conjunction, may perhaps prove but like the jollity of a *Car-nival* to usher in a long melancholly *Lent*.

I will grant, that 'tis possible the *Writ de hæretico Comburendo* being now Abolished that destroyed so many Protestants by retail, certain bloody men may find some Invention to destroy them by wholesale, and to something of that nature Bishop *Vishers* Prophecy referred, of the Raging Persecution of Protestants yet to come and not lasting, and when their enemies will *ipsam sævitiam fatigare*: and in the violence of such predicted cruelty not being long lasting, that great Prelate erred not from the Nature of things more then he did when he Prophecy'd of an *Irish* Rebellion Forty years before it hapned, for that usually happens once in so many years through the force and numbers of the *Irish* within that time outgrowing the *English*, and their allowing themselves the repossession of their Estates by that time as a *Jubile*.

I will further grant, that the discipline of our Church (of which I think the Constitution is the best that the world can shew) may be Crusht, as I said before, and our Dissenters then in vain wish that they had the *tolerabiles ineptiæ* (as your Lordship knows who imperiously call'd them) in the Room of the intollerable abominations of the Mass; and 'tis possible that divine Justice and Power may permit the doctrine as well as discipline of our Church to be suppress'd totally and finally in this Realm, and that the prediction of that Great Man of God who since his death has been as generally styl'd the *Judicious*, as *Lewis the Just* was elsewhere so vogue'd (I mean Mr. Hooker) may impress a deep horror and a too late repentance on us, who in his 5th Book of Ecclesiastical Polity in the end of the 79th Paragraph p. 432. of the old Edition, speaking of the ill affected to our Church, saith, *By these or the like suggestions receiv'd with all joy and with all sedulity practiced in certain parts of the Christian World, they have brought to pass that as David doth say of Man, so it is in hazard to be verifi'd concerning the whole Religion and Service of God, the time thereof peradventure may fall out to be Threescore and Ten years, or if strength do serve, unto Four-score: what follows, is likely to be small joy to them whatsoever they shall be that behold it.* Mr. Hooker did first print his 5th Book in the year 1597. (the first four of his Polity being before printed in the year 1594) and so the period of Four-score Tears in his prediction was in the Year 1677.

Tho' that good man pretended not to be a Prophet, yet according to the old saying, *μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅτι ἐστὶ ἐνδὲς αἰχλῶς* i. e. *he is the best Prophet who can guess well*, both our Church of England and the Dissenters and Papists too have found that Mr. Hookers prudence had so much divination, and his divination so much prudence, that the small joy with which they have beheld the external face of Religion here since 1677. hath shew'd us that he *guess'd shrewdly*.

I have only affirm'd, that *humanly speaking*, and according to the common course of nature, Popery cannot be the overgrown *National Religion* of England, but am not ignorant that the *sacred Code* hath given us instances of Omnipotent power punishing even Heavens *peculiar* people by the Course of Political and Ecclesiastical Power running out of the common Channel of the Nature of things, and particularly by a succession of Ten evil Kings one after another. For tho' humane Nature is so inconstant, and men generally so apt to reel from one extream to another, that the World growes as weary of the prevalence of Vice as of Virtue, and after a long age of Dissoluteness and *Luxury*, a Contrary humour reigns as long in the World again, a humour that then excludes all *Voluptuaries* from Public Trusts for an Age together; (and a humour of which I think we now see the Tide Coming in) and thus ordinarily scarce any Kingdom hath more than two or three good or bad Princes successively for any considerable space of time; Yet after the *Ten Tribes* had made their *defection* from the Line of the House of David, they were punish'd by a Succession of Ten Kings, and not one good one in the whole number, tho' some of them were less ill than others; so that no Marvel if the weight of the impiety of so many successive ill Princes sunk them into the power of the *Assyrians*: and to this their doom, that passage in the Prophecy of *Hosea* refers, which the vulgus of the *Scriblers* against Monarchy so Miserably detort and wracke (as I may say) to their own destruction, namely, *I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath*; for the Prophet there had not his Eye on *Saul*, or on a particular Person, but on the whole succession of Kings after their Rent from *Juda*, from *Jeroboam* to the Last under whom the Catastrophe of their Captivity was. Such Kings were given them by Heaven as were proper Instruments of Divine wrath; and when they were took away from the Stage, 'twas that other worse might enter and make their Condition more Tragical.

But *secret things belonging to God*, I pry not into the *Book of Fate*, but Confine my sentiments alone to the *Book of Nature*.

In an *Excellent Sermon* of the Dean of St. Pauls, 'tis with great Piety and Prudence said, *We have liv'd in an Age that has beheld strange Revolutions, astonishing Judgments, and wonderful Deliverances.*

What all the Fermentations that are still among us may end in, God alone knowes.

I only as a Philosopher Considering that the Properties of humane Passions have as Necessary effects in Minds, as gravity or lightness have in Bodies, and that let men intend what *male administration* they will, things will not be *ill administr'd*, do think that the fermentation now in the Kingdome will not end but with Popery it self here ending. And that I may not seem to stand alone in this my opinion, I shall entertain your Lordship with that of An *Excellent Philosopher* and Divine, the Author of the *History of the Royal Society*, who there having said, that *experimental Philosophy will enable us to provide before-hand against any alteration in Religious affairs which this Age may produce*, he goes on thus, *If we Compare the changes to which Religion has been alwayes subject with the present face of things, we may safely conclude, that whatever Vicissitude shall happen about it in our time, it will probably be neither to the*

the advantage of implicit Faith, nor of Enthusiasme, but of Reason: the fierceness of violent inspiration is in good Measure departed: the Remains of it will be soon chased out of the World, by the Remembrance of its terrible footsteps it has every where left behind it.

And although the Church of Rome still preserves its Pomp, yet the Real authority of that too is apparently decaying. It first got by degrees to the Temporal Power, by means of its Spiritual, but now it upholds some shadow of the Spiritual by the strength of the Temporal dominion it has obtain'd. This is the present state of Christendome: It is impossible to spread the same Cloud over the World again.

The Universal disposition of this Age is bent upon a Rational Religion. And therefore I Renew my affectionate request, That the Church of England would Provide to have the chief share in its first adventure, that it would persist as it has begun to encourage Experiments which will be to our Church as the British Oake is to our Empire, an Ornament and Defence to the Soil wherein 'tis planted.

This Author therefore with such Vigour of Reason passing his sentence concerning any Vicissitudes here not happening that will probably Conduce to the advantage of Popery or Enthusiasme, I hope your Lordship will acquit me both of Singularity and Enthusiasme as to the opinion I have given, especially since I only profess it to be founded on Natural Reason, and do only Consider the God of Nature, when I think that a Religion that is of God will stand.

'Tis not unknown to Your Lordship, that Columbus being in chace of the New World, and Cast among some barbarous Islanders that deny'd him the hospitality of their Port, and freedom of Commerce, he Knowing that they worshipt the Moon, and that it would shortly be Eclips'd, thò he was neither Prophet nor Prophet's Son, aw'd them out of their inhumanity, by foretelling that the Moons deity would be shortly obscur'd: and when ever I acquaint any Roman Catholics with my Judgment of the Nearness of their Religion to an Eclipse, I intend no more enthusiasme in my prediction, then Columbus did in his, and design nothing worse neither by mine then he by his, namely the reconciling them to humanity and a fair entercourse with Mankind.

'Twas in the middle of the Worlds long night of barbarisme and ignorance that Popery was in its Meridian, and for hundreds of years all the Learning that busy'd the World referr'd to Judicial Astrology, Rabinical Resveries, School-Divinity, Latine Rhimes in praise of the Saints, Compiling of Legends, to Monks Histories of Ecclesiastical affairs, and the times they liv'd in (but so partial and so full of ridiculous and incredible Stories, that we have a better and truer account of the times when Alexander and Julius Caesar liv'd, then of the times of Constantine and Charlemain) to gelding of the Fathers writings, and purging away their Gold, Regulating the Hoods, and Hose, and Shoo's of Monks, to inventing of Ceremonies and mystical vestments, and fantastic geniculations, to the making of the Popes brutish Canon Law, and the Commenting thereon in barbarous Latine by Doctors of the Decrees and Decretals, and to the Commenting on Aristotle by those that could not read his Text, and the Commenting likewise on the New Testament by such as knew no Greek (insomuch that 'twas then a proverbial saying among those illiterate Writers, *Græcum est, non potest legi*) to quiddity, esseity, entity and such titi-villitium, and to *cus rationis*, that did (as I may say) destroy the being of Reason, to the improvement of one sort of Mechanics, Viz. by making Images in Churches with little engines and librationis turn the eyes and move the lips like the forementioned Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent (and which was by Bishop Fisher exposed as a cheat at St. Pauls Cross at the time of its being there

there broke in pieces) while their great *Real Design* was to make the Layety but the Churches *automata*, as brute Animals may not improperly be said to be God Almighty, to the Composing *Paschal-Epistles* about the time of the Celebration of *Easter*, a Controversy (as our great Mr. *Hales* saith) that caused as great a Combustion as ever was in the Church, and in which fantastical hurry all the World were *Schismatics*, and about which Monk *Austin* was so quarrellsome with the *Britains*, when the difference was not in doctrine but in *Almanac Calculations*, and about which after the infallibility of the General Council of *Nice* had given a *Rule* in the Cause, the World was yet so much in the dark, that the Bishops of *Rome* from year to year were fain to address to the Church of *Alexandria's* Mathematicians for directions as to the week *Easter* was to be kept in.

And during this long night, Millions of mankind were brought into the World only to sleep out their span of time, and to have day-dreams of Knowledge, or rather a profound *Docta Ignorantia*; and men were by dignities rewarded proportionably for their sleeping longest: according to what the *Chronicon Frideswicæ* mentions of *Guimundus* a Chaplain to our King *Henry the First*, who in the Celebration of holy offices reading before the King that place of *St. James*, *non pluet super terram annos III, & menses VI*, thus ridiculously distinguished the Notes in his reading, *non pluet super terram, annos, unum, unum, unum, & menses quinque unum*, and the King asking him afterward, why he red so: he answered *quia vos in ita tantum legentes beneficia & episcopatus Confertis*.

No marvel then if during that long gross and palpable Darkness of the World, the Pope travesty'd those words in Scripture about Gods making the two great lights, to serve his turn against the Emperor, tho yet the attempt to prove the Popes Supremacy out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, is as extravagant as his who would prove the Circulation of the blood out of the first Chapter of *Littleton*.

And as the Roman *Breviary* tell's us of *S. Thomas* very gravely, that when once he was vehement in prayer before a Crucifix at *Naples*, he heard this voice, *bene de me scripsisti Thoma*, none likewise in that age laugh'd at the Pope for saying *bene de me scripsisti Moses*. The world then brought no quo warranto against the Popes Charter deriv'd thus in his Canon Law from *Moses*, nor that gloss on it which says, *Since the Earth is seven times bigger then the Moon, and the Sun eight times bigger then the Earth, the Papal Power must consequently be fifty seven times bigger then the Regal dignity*.

Our English World will no more allow of the logical Consequence of that doughty argument of *Bellarmino* (*Lib. 1. de Pont. ca. 2. sect. denique, & sect. sed.*) *There is one King among Bees, therefore, there ought to be one Commander, chief Teacher and visible Monarch in the Universal Church*, then they would allow that argument of the Bees to give our neighbour Monarch a right to an Universal Temporal Monarchy. The Popes vociferating of that Text, *Behold two Swords*, and while their adherents held so many Thousands in their hands, might then pass muster for as good an argument of his right to Spiritual and Civil power, as the words, that the *Lillies* spin not, did for the *Salic Law* with the help of another Army then one of Commentators.

The Renewall of the Popes Charter by *Pasce oves*, was not then disallowed either for the fleecing of many Millions of Christians, or killing some hundreds of thousands in the German Empire, according to what has been observed by the famous *Erastus* in his *Theses*, p. 72. *& propter excommunicatos Imperatores & Reges, aliquot Centena millia hominum trucidata sunt in imperio Germanico*.

And

And perhaps the *Popes plea* for making the *World* a great *Slaughter-house*, might then be admitted by the authority of the *Text*, *Arise Peter, kill and eat.*

Conculcabis super aspidem & basilicum then went for a claim of Divine Right; to make the *head* of the *World* to be trampled on by the *foot* of a bald-pated Fryar.

But if the *Papacy*, the *light* that was in the *World* then was *darkness* (as the *Scripture Expression* is,) *How great was that darkness!*

And as the *Popes continued art* was then to *Conceal Nature*, so 'twas not then held *tanti* for art in others to be *Curious* in following *Nature*, when an *Opinion* was imbibed that the *Pope* could change the very *Nature* of things, according to that saying, *I have been shewn in the Canon Law, glo. in C. proposuit. de Conc. præb. c. 5. de transl. ep. Papa mutare potest rerum substantialia & de Justitia injustitiam facere, mutando & Jura corrigendo, adeoq; quadrata æquare rotundis et rotundis quadrata.*

And for my part, I should not have repined at the *Popes* assuming to himself the honour of the *light that rules by day*, if he could have *illuminated* the *World* with the *demonstration* of the *quadrature of the Circle*, which that *gloss* pretends to; a great *Knowable* thing, as *Aristotle* said, tho not known, and which secret all the *penetrating Mathematicians* from *Archimedes* down to *Mr. Hobbs*, have *wooed* with very great *passion* and could not enjoy.

But during the *Egyptian plague* of *darkness* that many *Ages* then lay under, our famous *Countreyman Wicliff* alarm'd the *Lethargic World*: and he assail'd several gross *Errors* of *Popery* with its own weapons of *Metaphysics* and *School Divinity*, and by means of the noise his *Two hundred Volumes* made in the *World*, he dispers'd a great *terror* in that dark *Age*; and as one saith, *Sir John Old-Castle*, *Lord Cobham* and the *Lollards* being awaken'd out of their first sleep, were desirous to rise before it was day, and before the appointed time was come for the *Reforming the abuses in the Church*: and between that time and morning, most men fell asleep again as fast as ever: but yet long before the dawn of the *Reformation*, the doctrine of *Wicliffe* had made such a fermentation in our *English World*, that in the *Year* of our *Lord* 1422, that great *States-man Chichley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a *Letter* to *Pope Martine* the Fifth, Complain'd, *That there were then so many here in England infected with the heresies of Wicliff and Huffle, that without force of an Army they could not be suppress*: Whereupon the *Pope* sent two *Cardinals* to the *Arch-Bishop* to Cause a *Tenth* to be gather'd of all *Spiritual and Religious men*, and the money to be Laid in the *Chamber Apostolic*; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of *Chalices, Candlesticks, and other implements* of the *Church*, as the *Acts and Monuments* Attest.

And it is not unknown, that long before, viz. in *Harry* the Fifth's time, *Chichley* foreseeing that a *Storm* was coming from the *Commons* on *Church-Lands*, diverted it, by engaging *England* in its darling popular War with *France*, and caus'd the *Clergy* to contribute very liberally to it.

But that fermentation that *Chichley* said could not in the *Year* 1422 be checkt in peoples Minds otherwise then as aforesaid, soon out-grew the power of any *Army* to allay; for in less than *Thirty years* afterward, the *Invention* of *Printing* came into the *World*, by which one man could transmit more notices of things in a *Day*, then another could by writing in a *Year*, and which did as much out-do the publication of notions by the *Goosquill*, as the invention of *Gun-powder* did the killing Force of the *gray-goose-wing*, and which did, as it were, revive the old *Miracle* of the *Gift of Tongues*, (and *Cloven* too I may Call them, for their being divided from the *Sentiments* of the *Papal Holy Church*) and made *Learning* begin to fly like *lightning* through the

World to the Controuling and detecting of the Popes Excommunicating Thunder, and which shew'd the World its true face in the stream of time, and shew'd the greet *Fisberman* of *Rome* dancing in the Nett, and which was the true speaking Trumpet, whereby a single Author could preach to the diocess of the World.

And that great birth of Fate the taking of *Constantinople* within three years after the *Invention* of Printing, occasioning the World's acquiring the knowledge in the *West* that it lost in the *East*, and dispersing the *Learned* Greeks, *Theodore Gaza*, *John Lascaris*, *Manuel Chrysoloras*, and many others to teach the Greek Tongue where they went, the *Press* was thereby furnished, with Glad tidings for the Curious World, and *Erasmus*, and many learned Papists, did soon imbibe the knowledge of that learned Language, and he complain'd in a Letter to the *Archbishop* of *Mentz*, *That the Friars would fain have made it Heresy to speak Greek*.

So pleasant was it then to consider that that barbarous Generation instead of knowing Heresy to be Greek, voted Greek to be Heresy, and that they who had murdered so many thousands for being *Heretics*, knew not what the very word in its original language imported.

The Sagacity of *Erasmus* could not then but easily see through the Cobwebs of the *School-Divines*: *totam Theologiam a Capite usque ad Calcem retexuerunt, & ex divina Sophisticam fecerunt aut Aristotelicam*, saith he in *uitâ Hier. præfixâ ipsius operibus*. And Doctor *Colet* the Dean of *St. Pauls*, (whom *Erasmus* often in his *Epistles* calls *præceptorem unicum & optimum*) did as *Erasmus* saith in his life, account the *Scotists* dull Fellows and any thing rather then ingenious, and yet he had a worse opinion of *Aquinas* then of *Scotus*. And tho *Luther* had angred *Harry* the 8th. by speaking contemptibly of *Thomas Aquinas* whom that King so highly magnified that he was call'd *Rex Thomisticus*, *Collet* was not afraid to Pronounce in that case as *Luther* did.

And here it may not by the way be unworthy of your Lordships observation as to the concert that is between the Genius of one great *Witt* and another, that *Erasmus* and Mr. *Hobbs* had the same sense of *School-Divinity* and *School-Divines*: For Mr. *Hobbs* in his *Behemoth* or *History of the Civil-Wars* speaking of *Peter Lombard* and *Scotus* saith, *That any ingenious Reader not knowing what was the designe of School-Divinity* (which he had before said was with unintelligible distinctions to blind Men's eyes while it encroach'd on the Rights of Kings) *would judge them to have been two the most egregious block-heads in the World, so obscure and senseless are their Writings*.

The *New Testament* was no sooner open'd and read then in *Erasmus* his translation and in the *English* Tongue, but the Popes Cards were by the Clergy that playd his game thrown up as to all claim of more Power here by the word of God then every other forreign Bishop had; and both our Universities sent their judgments about the same to the King, which methinks might make our Papists approach a little nearer to us without fear of infection; for we allow the *Bishop* of *Rome* to have as much Power by the Word of God as any other *Bishop*; and 'tis pittie but that Judgment of our Universities were shewn the World in Print, and sent to the *French* King, and particularly the *Rescript* or Judgment of the University of *Oxford* as not being any where in Print (that I know of) but in an old Book of *Dr. James's* against *Papery*.

Cromwel the *Viceroy* to *H.* the 8th. had (as *Fuller* saith in his *Church-history*) got the whole *New-Testament* of *Erasmus* his translation by heart: but the fore Eyes of many of the Clergy were so offended with the glaring Light the *New-Testament* in Print brought every where, that instead of Studying it as that great *Premier Ministre* did, they only study'd to suppress it: and thus

thus Buchanan in his *Scotch History* saith that in *H.* the 8ths time, *tantaque erat cæcitas ut sacerdotum plerique novitatis nomine offensi, eum librum a Martino Luthero nuper fuisse Scriptum affirmarent ac vetus testamentum reposcerent: i.e. They look'd on the New-Testament as writ by Martin Luther, and call'd for the Old Testament again.*

And the truth is, if Luther had then set himself to have invented and writ a model of Doctrines against Justification by works, and redeeming our vexation from wrath divine by Summs of Mony, and against implicit Faith and many gross Papal Errors, he could not possibly have writ against them *in terminis terminantibus* more expresse then the Writers of the *New-Testament* did.

But the *New Testament* was then newly opened, and the legates permitted to read the whole *Will* over translated into a language they understood, after they had been long by fraud and force kept out of their legacies by the Bishops Court of Rome, whose Artifice had formerly in effect suppressed that *Will*: and that inestimable legacy of liberty from all impositions humane being particularly shewn to Mankind, there was no taking their Eyes off from this *Will*; nor taking it out of their hands, nor suppressing the study of the Greek language it was originally writ in.

King Harry the 8th. had received his Legacy thereby, who before was but a Royal Slave to the Pope; and the triumph of an *Æneæ* was echo'd round his Kingdom, like that of Archimedes, when he had detected the Imposture that had mingled so much dross in the Sicilian Crown.

'Tis true he retained the profession of several Papal Errors, and such as he being vers'd in School-Divinity knew would still keep themselves in play in the World with a *videtur quod sic, & probatur quod non*, accordingly as the learned Dr. Jones has observ'd in his Book call'd *the Heart and its Right Sovereign*, that Image-Worship, Invocation of Saints, Transubstantiation, Purgatory are and will be learnedly and voluminously defended on each side to the World's end.

Harry the 8th therefore did in his Contest with the Papacy *Ferire faciem*, and did fight neither against small and great but the King of Rome, as I may say: He attacked the Pope in his claim of authority over all Christians, the authority that Bellarmine calls *Caput fidei*, the head of the Catholic Faith.

'Tis therefore very well said in a Book call'd *Considerations touching the true way to suppress Popery in England*, Printed for Mr. Broome in the Year 1677; *Whatever notions we have of Popery in other things, the Pope himself is not so fond of them, but that to gain the point of authority, he can either connive, or abate, or part with them wholly: though no doubt he never doth it but insidiously, as well knowing that whatever confession he makes for the establishing his authority, he may afterward revoke, &c.* And so the Author saith, p. 12. *That Harry the 8th for having cast off his obedience to Rome was therefore judged a heretic, and that was look'd on by Rome as worse than if he had rejected all its errors together. He was a thorough Papist in all points but only that of obedience, in comparison of which all the rest are but talk.*

I account therefore in Harry the 8ths time Poperies most sensible and vital part, viz. the Popes supremacy did end in England *per simplicem desinentiam*. The radical heat and moisture it long before had was gone: like a *senex depontanus* it was held uselefs in a wise Senate. He establish'd the doctrine of his own Supremacy without a Battel fought, nor did any Rebellion rise thereupon but what he confounded with a general Pardon.

Many of the Scholars of the University of Oxford did mutinously oppose the introducing the knowledge of the Greek Tongue there, and were thereupon call'd *Trojans*, and others of the Schollars were as robust and loud for that

that Language, who were therefore called *Græcians*: but by a Letter writ by *Sir Thomas More* to that University and by the Kings Command (which Letter is extant in the *Archives* of the public *Library* there) the Schollars being admonished to lay by those names of *distinction*, and likewise all animosity against the *Greek* Tongue, and to encourage the learning of the same, it was there at last peaceably receiv'd.

The day-break of learning then in the world had put a period to the night of ignorance in which the Beasts of Prey had domineer'd, and to their Monastic dennis themselves. The enlighten'd part of mankind was weary of growing pale among papers and sometimes red hot with arguing about terms of art (and all those barbarous too, that had formerly hid the God of nature) and would no longer account implicit faith the only justifying one, and could not more esteem the imposing of such a blind faith commendable that was made previous to mens quest after *pabulum* for their Souls, then that practice of the boy of *Athens* who did put out the eyes of birds, and then expose them to fly abroad for food.

The Learning then introduced into the world shew'd that the hierarchical grandeur of the *Roman* Church was not extant formerly in the learned times when the old *Roman* Empire flourish'd, but was contrived in the times of ignorance between the Bishops of *Rome* and the Leaders or Princes of the *Barbarians*, and that it had its beginning from the Inundations of the *Northern* people (so that with Mr. *Colemans* leave by the way, *Popery* may be call'd too a pestilent *Northern* heresy) and that to the end that those *Barbarians* might not find out the original of the papal power, and see how narrow the stream of it was at its fountain when every Bishop was call'd *Papa* (as every woman is now with us call'd *Madam* and *Lady*) that the *Pope* by affronting the *Emperors* power effected a strangeness between the *Greeks* and *Latines*, by means whereof the *Barbarians* being brought up in prejudice against the *Græcians* neglected their Language, to the decay whereof in the world not only the decay of the purity of the *Latine* Tongue may be imputed, but also of *History*, *Geography*, *Geometry*, skill in antiquity, and even the worlds not knowingly then conversing with the *Latine* Fathers.

It was in an age of non-sense when a *Canonist* venturing to be a Critic told the world concerning the *Greek* word *Allegoria*, *istud vocabulum fit ex duobus vocabulis; ab allo, quod est alienum, & goro sensus*; and when an old *Schoolman* *Thomas de Argentina*, thus gave the derivation of *latria*, *istud vocabulum fit ex duobus vocabulis, à La, quod est laus, & tria, quod est trinitas: quia latria, est laus trinitatis*. But the very understanding of two ordinary *Greek* words, namely *ἰσα πρεσβεία*, equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters to the Bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople* allow'd by a General Council, that were obvious to every enquirer into history, did quite blow up all pretences of the *Popes* supremacy; and one verse in that long unknown *Greek* Book *ἡ ἐκκλησία* viz. *Luke* 24.47. which shews, that the teaching of Repentance and remission of sins in the name of *Christ* by his own order began at *Jerusalem*, did surprise thinking men with amazement, when they heard a *Pope* and General Council calling *Rome* the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches, and anathematizing all who think otherwise; and saying further *extra hanc fidem nemo potest esse salvus*, for this the *Trent* Council did.

Thus then the abolition of the papal power here brought the world at the first step out of a blind *Chaos* into a *Paradise* of Knowledge, and help'd Christians to demonstrate to themselves and to Jews, and Pagans the truth of the Christian Religion, for the certainty of the doctrine of which during that time of papal darkness the world had only the assertion of the present age that call'd it self the tradition of the Church; but by the introduction of the
Greek

Greek Tongue and other learning, Christians had the sense of the *Greek* and *Latine Fathers*, and those *historical Records* that brought down to them the certainty of the Miracles that were wrought in the founding of Christianity; from the Primitive Christians, who saw them. 'Twas the restoration of learning in general, help'd them to say with *Tertullian* *fidem colimus rationalem*, and with *St. Paul*, *I know whom I have believed*, and without the introducing of humane learning, the Protestant Religion could no more have been advanced to its height in the world, then men can be perfected in *Astronomy* without the knowledge of *Arithmetic*. *Luther* came into the field arm'd with the Knowledge both of the *Greek* and *Hebrew Tongues*, when he was to contest with the Errors of the Papacy; and he having for his Antagonist Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was the Legate in *Germany* and an eminent School Divine, and who made a home thrust at *Luther* out of the Scripture according to the *Vulgar Latine* translation, *Luther* told him in plain terms, That that translation, was false and dissonant to the original: and hereupon the *Cardinal*, tho' he and the Papacy too had one foot in the grave, *Cato*-like fell eagerly on the studying of *Greek*, that he might be able to confute *Luther* and his followers out of the Scriptures, and was put to it to make his weapon when he was in the field.

And can any one think now that in this present state of *England*, when we see so many that are Critical Masters of Experimental Philosophy, and who by means of the great useful pains formerly taken by *Erasmus*, *Sir Thomas Moore* and others, in restoring Philological Learning, have now entire leisure to devote their Studies to the substantial Knowledge of things, and whose Motto is, *Nullius in verba*, and who know, that if they would have every one trust them, they must take nothing on trust from any one; and who know, that since truth doth always sail in sight of error, they must all the way go sounding by experiment; I say, can any one think that it was less easie for the *Sun* to go back Ten degrees on *Abaz* his Dial, then 'tis to make this Age run back to implicit faith and ignorance and barbarisme?

And is it to be thought that men who weigh *Silver* in Scales, will not weigh *Gold*; I mean, not examine notions of Religion with care, when they are so cautious in others? Can we think that men who will not part with those Notions that *salve* the *phænomena*, will quit those that *save* their *Souls*, and especially considering the proverbial addiction of the *English genius* to Religion, and considering too, that men by long use and Custom have been habituated to the profession of a rational Religion, and that it can plead here a hundred years prescription?

It is certainly more easie to unteach men the use of the *Sea-Compass* in *Navigation*, then the use of Reason in Religion; and the inclination of the Needle to the *North*, is not likely to be more durable then the tendency of mens affection in *England* to the *Northern heresy* so call'd; and it is more easie to teach all Mankind the use of Letters, then to unteach it to any one man; and when the temper of an inquisitive Age is like a *Trade-wind* carrying men toward Knowledge and toward a rational Divinity, they may by some accidents be made to cast Anchor, or they may be sunk, but they cannot be forced to go back.

When a man hath long been compell'd to creep with Chains on him through a toilsome dark *Labyrinth*, and having extricated himself out of it and being come to enjoy his liberty in the light of the *Sun*, the persuasion of words cannot make him go back again.

My Lord, I lately mentioned the Motto of the *Royal Society* of *England*, of which your Lordship is a Member, and I look on the very constitution of that Society to be an inexpugnable *Bulwark* against Popery: In which Society

many of our choice *English Wits* have shew'd as much subtilty and curiosity in the Architecture of *Real Science*, and such as tends to the edification of the world, as any of our Countrey men heretofore did in those curious but useless Cobwebs of holy Church call'd School Divinity.

And the constitution of that *Society* hath not only been useful in encreasing the Trade of Knowledge among its members by a joyned stock, but moreover hath tended to the raising in the Kingdom a general inclination to pursue *Real Science*, and to contemn all *science falsely so call'd*: and the Raising of this inclination I will call a *Spirit* that can never be *Conjur'd* down, nor can the knowledge that depends on number, weight and local Motion, be ever exterminated by *Sophisms* or *Canting*, or *terms of Art*; Nor will they who have from this *Society* learned to weigh Ayre, give up their Souls to any Religion that is all *Ayre* without weighing it, or (notwithstanding any hard name that may come to be in *vogue*) ever forget that *bread is bread*.

His Majesty by the founding of this great Conservatory of knowledge presently after his Restoration (wherein his great *Minister* then the *Earl of Clarendon*, was an honourable Member) did convey real knowledge and a demonstration of his being an Abhorrer of Arbitrary Power, to all that can understand Reason, and affect not the ridiculous Treasonableness of *Bradshaw's Court*, to say, *that they will not bear reason*; for had he like the *Eastern King's* affected Arbitrary Power, he would have used their artifice of endeavouring to cast mists before the understanding faculties of his Subjects, and to detain them from knowledge by admiration, and to deprive them of sight, like horses that are still to drudge in the *Mill* of Government by blind obedience; But to shew that he abhor'd both such obedience and implicit Faith, and that he intended to establish his Throne as well in the heads as in the hearts of his Subjects, he presently settled this Great Store-house of Knowledge, that shew'd it was his desire and ambition by the general Communication of Knowledge in his Dominions, to Command Subjects whose heads were with the *Rays of Science* crown'd within.

And therefore I think His Majesties Munificence to the Royal Society in giving them *Chelsey-Colledge* at their first institution, was very Consistent with the Primary Intention of the erecting that *Colledge*, which was to be a Magazine for *Polemical-Divinity* wherewith to attaque the Writers for *Popery*: for the very planting of a general disposition to believe nothing contrary to Reason, is the cutting of the grass under *Poperies* feet; and His Majesty providing for the growth of reason did apparently check the growth of *Popery*, as well as of Arbitrary Power, without the *prop* of which, *Popery* can never run up to any height more then the *Sun-flower* without a supporter: and the settling in men an humour of *Inquisition* into the truth and nature of things is, as I partly said before, an everlasting barricade against the Popes darling Court of the *Inquisition*.

That great and noble notion of the *Circulation* of the blood, took its first rise from the hints of a common persons enquiring what became of all the blood that issued out of the heart, seeing that the heart beats above Three Thousand times an hour, tho' but one drop should be pump'd out at every stroke: and if any one shall tell me that he believes that *Popery* with its retinue of implicit faith and ignorance can over-run us, I will ask him what will then become of all that knowledge the vital blood of the Soul, that hath issued from the heads of inquisitive Protestants, and been *Circulating* in the World for above a Hundred and Fifty years, and I doubt not but it will be in mens Souls as long as blood shall have its *Circular Course* in their bodies; and *maugre* all the Calumnies cast on the *Divines* of the Church of *England* for being fautors of *Popery*, I shall expect that our learned *Colledge* of *Physicians*

cians will as soon be brought to disbelieve the *Circulation* of the blood, or our *Royal Society* to take down the *Kings Standard* that they have set up against implicit faith, as our learned Convocation the learnedest that ever *England* had, be brought to believe the principles of *Popery*.

I know, *My Lord*, 'tis obvious against this my *hypothesis*, of the unpracticableness of *Popery* being here the *State-Religion*, to say that in little more then Twenty years time Four great changes in Religion happen'd in *England*, and that the generality of the people then like dead Fishes went with the stream of the Times: but I ask, if the generality of the people had been thoroughly enlighten'd in the rationality of the Protestant Principles Twenty years together, would they have return'd to the belief of the Popish? Will they now do it after the establishment of a *Rational Religion* for above a Hundred years together? Can *Popery* now find the way into most *Mens* brains here presently after the whole *Nation* almost were *Preachers*, and when all our great and little unruly disagreeing Sects yet agreed in this as a *fundamental*, that the *Bishop of Rome is the Antichrist*? If *Printing* had been free in *Turky* for a Hundred years, and a *libera Philosophia* and *Theologia* had been there in fashion for a Hundred years, and every man had been allow'd his Judgment of discretion so long about the sense of the *Alchoran*, or of the holy Scripture, and of all Books of Religion, could ignorance even there come into play again? or if the *Turkes* had drank Wine for a Hundred years together, could any one Conjure the glasses out of their hands by telling them there was a *Devil* in every grape?

If that Law in *Muscovy* that makes it death for any Subject to travel out of that Kingdom without the Emperors *Licence*, lest his Subjects having seen the freedom of other Countreys, should never again return to the Arbitrary Power in their own again; I say, if that Law had been repeal'd for a Hundred years, and multitudes of oppress'd mankind had thence found the way to breath in the ayre of Liberty like men, could they be perswaded to return to the *Tokes* of *Beasts* again?

When a *floating Island* has been a Hundred years fixt to the Continent, can any teach it to swim again? *Consulitur de Religione*, is likely to be the eternal business of *England*, and in case of a *Prohibition* to any mans little Court of Conscience in that cause, he will certainly give himself a *consultation*.

The very *humour* of the *English Nation* long hath and still doth run against what they think but like *Popery*, or makes for it, and that with such a rapid current of Antipathy, as is never likely to be stem'd: and nothing is more out of fashion then a kind of *Sir-positive*, or *Dictatorian* humour in common discourse; much less then will a dogmatical Popes infallibility ever be digested here, while he makes himself a *St. Positive*.

The *gentile* humour of the Age here that abhors *hard* words as loathsome *pedantry*, will never be reconcil'd to one certain long hard word in *Popery*; namely *Transubstantiation*; nor to another namely *Incineration*, or burning men for not understanding the former word (according to the style of the *Historian*, *Imperator agre tulit incinerationem Johannis Husse*) and people will account their Protestant *Bibles* more agreeable to them then the *English* one Published by the *Colledge of Doway*, where the Translator studied for hard words in the room of plain ones, as for the *Passover*, *phase*, for foreskin, *præpuce*, for unleaven'd bread, *azym*s, for high places, *excelses*, and other such words we have in the *English Rhemish Testament*, viz. *exinanite*, *parascene*, *didragmes*, *neophyt*, *spiritualness* of wickedness in the *Celestials*.

In our Busy *English* world while men are most yary after profit and pleasure and the study of things, if very few or none can be brought to learn
the

the *universal real character*, and which would tend to the propagating *Real Knowledge* among the Nations of the World (accordingly as the excellent propounder of it in Print with great modesty saith in his *Epistle* dedicatory, *that he had slender expectation if its coming into common use*) our *Ingenious* or *Witts* (which all men pretend to be now, as they did in the Late times to be *Saints*, tho yet as few are *Witts* now, as were *Saints* then) will not care for troubling their brains with the studying of the Religion whose pretended *universality* appears but a kind of *universal character*, and not *real*, and tending to obscure the knowledge of things in the World.

If they should see here a Religion that was full of pageantry, and seem'd to be wholly *theatrical*, they would think it was as much their *birthright* to *censure* it, as 'tis to be eternal talking *Critics* in the *Pit* to *damn* Playes, and would think *two Supremes* in a Kingdome to be of the low nature of two *Kings* of *Branford*, and rather then part with their money and stake down their Souls for seeing such a *Moral Representation* of an absolute spiritual and absolute temporal power on the stage of the Kingdom, they would be too apt with Mr. *Hobs* to thrust the whole Nation of Spiritual Beings out of the world; I mean rather then they would be to their faces cheated and harra'd by a spiritual power: and our people inspir'd with witt as well as those with the zealous spirit of Religion would cry out, *conclusum est contra Manichæos*; I, and against the *Schoolmen* too, I mean our *Romanist Manichæi* who make two *summa Principia* in every State.

In this age where the lower or Sixth rate *Witts* do so over-value themselves on turning every thing into *ridicule*, the *Mas*s would have here a Reception according to what the *gloss* in the *Canon Law* observes, *that when a place had layen long under an interdict, the people laughed at the Priests, when they came to say Mass again*. Nor would any Papal *interdiction* unless it could *interdict* us from the use of *Fire* and *Water* be of any moment. The World would now laugh at any *Prize* that should be play'd between the *Two Swords*, the very *glossator* on the *Clementines* saying occasionally that *resipiscere mundo*, the World being grown wiser, there must be no longer striving for both *Swords*. And any one that would obtrude on us *gross* exploded errors in Church or State will appear as ridiculous as *St. Henry the Dane*, who as the *Martyrology* mentions, *when worms crawl'd out of a corrupted Ulcer in his Knee put them in again*.

My Lord, I will further offer it to your Lordships consideration, That if it be found so hard to keep up the external polity of the Church of *England*, tho in it self so rational and so meriting the name of *λογική διαίρεσις*, after the Twenty years discontinuance of it, insomuch that Dr. *Glanville* in the first page of his *Book* call'd the *Zealous and impartial Protestant*, hath these words, *the first occasion of our further danger that I shall mention, is the present diminution, not to say extinction of Reverence to the authority of the Church of England, &c.* (and he p. 4. writes largely to that Effect,) what quarter can *Popery* expect here from an Age of sense and reason when it should break in upon both, after the forementioned Hundred years discontinuance?

According to the foresaid Argument of the *Bees* for the Popes spiritual Monarchy, we see it improbable for him ever to bring us to a *Rendezvous* in his Church again; for the sad experience we have had of the *Sects* here that left the *Hive* of the Church of *England*, not gathering together into any one new *Hive*, but dividing into several swarms and hives, and never returning to the old, may shew the *Hive* of holy Church how little of our Company 'tis to expect.

Having

Having said all this about the mists of Popery, being to contend with knowledge in its meridian, I think I shall comply with the measures taken by our *Philosophers* in this Critical Age, in founding their observations upon *Experiments*, if I further add, that the former *Experiments* England hath had of Poperies being pernicious to its external *Polity* and *Grandeur*, will perpetuate and heighten the *fermentation* in the minds of our angry people against it.

All our *Monkish Historians* do attest the experience our Kings had in being bereav'd of great Sums of Money, while they enrich'd the Pope here by giving him the *Office* to keep the *Theological Thistle*, which he *Rail'd* in with so many *censures* and *distinctions*, and *non obstantes*, that our Kings could not pass to their *Palaces* but by his leave, and on his terms.

An *English King* then was but the Popes *Primier Ministre*, and yet paid great wages too for the being a *Servant* to the *Servus Servorum*.

King John used to say, That all his affairs in the World were unprosperous, and went cross and untowardly after he had once subjected himself and his Kingdom to the Church of Rome: His words were, *Postquam me & mea Regna Romanæ subjeci Ecclesiæ; nulla mihi prospera, omnia contraria advenerunt*. And 'tis obvious to consider on the other hand, what a great figure Henry the Eighth made in the World, after he had manumitted himself and his Kingdoms from the Papal Usurpation: And how he held the Balance of the World in his hand, and trod on the *Basile* of the Papal Supremacy, and notify'd it to the Nations of the Earth that *England is an Empire*, that being the Style of the Statute of the 24th of H. 8. c. 12. *Viz. That this Realm is an Empire, and that the Crown thereof is an Imperial one*: And the words of Kings and Emperours of this Realm, being then attributed in our Statutes to the Monarchs of England; and as the great expression in the Prophecie of Ezekiel c. 16. v. 13. is applied by God to the Jewish state, *And thou didst prosper into a Kingdom*, it may be justly said that Harry the Eighth's defying the Popes Usurpation, made *England prosper into an Empire*. 'Twas his doing that made him *hors de page*, and 'tis only the doing it that will make the French King truly so too: For 'tis only Air that any feed a Monarch's fancy with, who would amuse him with an *Universal Empire* abroad, till he hath obtain'd one first at home; as no Man is to expect to govern his Neighbours Family, who is *Controul'd* in his own.

And like a Master who imagines himself great, while he is feared by none but some of his own Servants, so how little terrour did Queen Mary's Reign give to any parcel of Mankind, but a few of her own Subjects, of which the number that she burnt and made to languish in Prisons, and such as left her Kingdom by *migration* to forreign parts, would easily have kept *Callais* for her, and prevented the ignominy of her *Politics*, in losing the *Real Key* of France, while she was finding the *Imaginary Keys* of the Church!

But 'tis a truth not contestable, That Queen Mary's Reign (in which her persecution of her Subjects was so barbarous, and such a scandal to Government, That Dr. Heylin himself applies to it in the Title Page of his *History of Queen Mary* that passage in *Paterculus*, *Hujus temporis fortunam, ne deplere quidem quispiam satis digne potuit, nemo verbis exprimere potest*) served only as a foile to the lustre of Queen Elizabeth, whom all Generations since have called blessed; and who was not more lov'd by the English, then she was feared by the French, and was offered *Calice* if she would but have coniv'd at the continuing of the French forces in Scotland, and who sent to the great Henry the Fourth a *Mandamus* to build no more Ships, and had more money offered her by her Subjects then she would accept; and yet (as is said in *Towson's Historical Collections*) had spent a Million of Money

in her Wars with Spain, and laid out 100000 l. to support the King of France against the Leaguers, and 150000 l. in defence of the Low Countries, and discharged a debt of Four Millions she found the Crown indebted in. Nay, our Historians tell us, that She payed the very Penſions that were in arrear in her Father's, and Sister's time to divers of the Religious persons ejected out of Abbeys.

It was Queen Elizabeth who by all her Alliances, and especially her Offensive and Defensive one with the States of the United Provinces in the Year 1578. laid such a deep and sure foundation for a vast trade of the English Nation to be built on, that it's overbalance is said to have brought to be Coined in the Tower of London, from the first of October 1599, in the 41st Year of her Reign, to March 31st 1619, (being 19 years) 4,779,314 l. 13 s. 4 d. And from March 31st 1619, to March 31st, 1638 (being 19 years) 6,900,042 l. 11 s. 1 d. And from March 1638, before May 1657 (being 19 years) 7,733,521 l. 13 s. 4 d; England alone by verture of that her Alliance, having till the Peace of Munster 1648, enjoyed almost the whole Manufacture, and best part of the Trade of Europe: And it was but just for Heaven to punish in England the greatest villany that could be wrought on Earth, I mean the murder of the best of Kings, by suffering the Trade of England to have its fatal decay in that year 1648. For then, I count, our overbalance of Trade for the last mentioned Nineteen years had its Period, and 'twas by the effect of that Peace that both Holland and France, and Spain canonized the power of our Trade, and the most Sovereign of our Manufactures. Till that black year 'twas to be ascribed to the result of Queen Elizabeth's politics, and not to the conduct of the Long Parliament, that England did, as to Trade, both do its business and play, and as to its Commanding the Trade of the World, did Sail with a Trade-wind; and during that Wind, it could not happen that any should meet us, or overtake us in our motion, whatever mean Pilots were at the Helm.

It was for the completing the last ternary of the Coinage, that I mentioned, the *circadecimies*, or nineteen years, ending in 1657. For I believe that both *Astrea* and Trade left our Land in that fatal Crisis of 48, of which the Month of January produced the Signing of that Peace at Munster, and the horrid Arraignment, and Martyrdom of that matchless Prince.

'Tis therefore not to be admired, That Queen Elizabeth's provident Ensuring such a plenty of Traffick and Riches to her Kingdom, both for her own and future time, she had what *præmium* of Taxes from her Parliaments she pleased, accordingly as King James tells the Parliament Anno 1620, That Queen Elizabeth had one year with another above 100000 l. in Subsidies; and in all my time I have had but four Subsidies, and Six Fifteenths; and he said his Parliament had not given him any thing for Eight or Nine years.

England did thrive apparently while it was to Queen Elizabeth, a *Puteus inexhaustus*: But while it was such an one to the Pope, was in a miserable and consumptive state, as any one must necessarily conclude, who considers that the nutritive juyce of the wealth of the Kingdom was diverted from cherishing its own Head to pamper the Bellies of Forreigners. Deplorable then was the condition of the English Crown, when (as we are told by the *Antiquitates Britan.* f. 178.) in the Reign of Hen. 3d. *Repertus est Annuus reditus Papæ talis quem ne Regius quidem attigit*: And when according to Matthew Paris f. 549, in the Reign of that King, Anno 1240, it was complained of, That there remained not so much Treasure in the Kingdom, as was in three years extorted from it by the Pope.

But what is more strange, we are told in Cotton's Collections p. 129 of the times of Edward the Third, That the Taxes paid to the Pope for Ecclesiastical

stical dignities did amount to five times as much as the People paid the King per annum. One would wonder that so martial a Prince, the Scene of whose Reign lay almost in continual War, should be so careless of the *Sinews* of it, as to permit so much of the wealth of the Kingdom to be misapplied, and that too while all manner of *Experiments* of Taxes were tried on his Subjects, who payed him toward his charge of the War with *France* *Wool* and *Grain*, as not having Money enough to supply him wholly therewith: and when, as it is said in *Cotton's Collections*, *A long Bill was brought in by the Commons against the Usurpation of the Pope as being the Cause of All the Plagues, Murraings, Famine and Poverty of the Realm, so as thereby was not left the third Person, or Commodities within the Realm as lately were, and the Commons did desire that it might be enacted, That no Money might be carried forth of the Realm by Letters of Lombardy, or otherwise on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment.*

But the Pope knew, it seems, there was money to be had out of *England*, though the Commons grudged it him, and that a complaint of the Commons of the decay of Trade was no proof of it, but rather in his case an indication of the contrary, for that 'tis *Proverbial* with Rich Men when they have no mind to part with their money, to say, *they have none*; and it appears out of a *balance of Trade* on Record in the *Exchequer*, that in the 28th year of *Edward the Third*, the Sum of the over-plus of the Exports above the Imports amounted to 255 214 l. 13 s. 8 d.

This however shews sufficiently the Indignation of a Popish House of Commons at the Pope and his *Lombard-Street Bankers*, who convey'd his money for him hence by *Bills of Exchange*; and if our late Parliaments have not thought fit to comply with the demands for satisfaction of Protestant Bankers there, much less will future ones favour any of the Popes *Lombards*.

That the Pope formerly had as much money here from the publick as the King, we may well believe possible, since 'tis generally held that *Wolsey's* Revenue equalled *Harry the Eighth's*.

Matthew Paris tells us, *Anno 1240, Misit Papa Pater noster sanctus quendam exactorem in Angliam Petrum Rubeum, qui excogitata muscipulatione infinitam pecuniam a miseris Anglis edoctus erat emungere. i. e. Our holy Father the Pope sent an exactor Peter Rubeus into England, who with a kind of Mouse-trap trick wiped the poor English of infinite Sums of Money.* And the expression of *Wiping the English of infinite Sums of Money* was in fashion among all eminent later Writers of ours against the Papal Usurpation: and 'tis particularly used by *Parker* in his *Antiq. Britan.* where he saith, *Præterea indulgentiarum, dispensationum, similiumq; fraudum immensâ copiâ infinitis pecuniis Anglos emunxerunt.*

Nothing less then infinity of Treasure out of one Island could supply the great exacter of Rome, who it seems resembled him that *Cicero* brands by saying, *infinitum genus invenerat ad innumerabilem pecuniam Corripendam.* But there is now no catching a Nation in *Mouse-traps*.

As the Pope has never thought it worth his while to send Emissaries to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and some other Northern Countreys, to sponge Money out of them, which he knows that great spender called War that so generally infects them, makes them have none to spare for the Popes use (and *Curia Romana non vult ovem sine lana*) so will the future vast charge too likely to be for ever incumbent on *England*, and other parts of the World, in providing and maintaining *Capital Ships*, effectually provide against the profusion of any on the Projector of Religion at Rome, and against *Rome's* being to us as *Matthew Paris* called it of old, *barathrum proventuum.*

And

And any who considers that his Majesty hath not without difficulty obtain'd *Supplies* of Money from late *Parliaments*, and that they have been all *appropriated* to certain publick uses, may well give the Pope *City-security*, that he shall have no Money from *England*; and no Man I think now supposeth that any thing that time can cause, can make the Pope get much Money out of the Exchequer of *England*, but one who (as *Charon* says) was *born in a Bottle*, and never saw the World but out of a little hole. But if according to the *Calculations* that have been by some made, the current Coin of the Nation doth not now exceed *Six Millions*; and the publick Revenue in times of Peace has amounted to somewhat near one Third of that, and if the Pope should be allow'd here to have a *spiritual income* equal to the King's, and the restored Abbots and Monks, and the other *Clergy* be allow'd another *Third*, (for so the accounts of their proportion were totted by some Critical Calculators) the whole Laity would be *nichil'd*, as the *Exchequer* word is.

King Edward the First, as the *Antiq. Britan.* mention, sent some of his Courtiers to treat with the *Clergy* about the *Quota* of their supplying him, viz, *Misit ex aula sua Nuntios qui suo nomine agerent cum clero, quoniam eorum & tranquillitas Major & fructus atque redditus annui tunc essent longe uberiores quam populi, ut ad Regem in his bellicis angustiis adjuvandum se ostenderent promptiores.* And it appears out of *Cotton's Collections*, That in the fourth Year of Richard the Second, The *Clergy* confess'd they had a Third part of the Revenue of the Kingdom, and therefore then consented to pay a Third part of the Taxes. But in those ancient times of Popery, beside the Clergies share in the Balance of Land, it might be justly added to the Inventory of their Wealth, That they generally engrossed the highest and chiefest Offices in the Kingdom, and that from the Office of Lord High Chancellor, to that of the very Clerks in Chancery, and other Clerks places (whence to this day the officiating Registers of Courts are called *Clerici* or Clerks) whereby they caught in a manner the whole Kingdom in a *Purse-net*.

'Tis therefore no wonder that the great affluence of the Riches of the Clergy drew to them that Popular esteem, that (as the *Antiquaries* observe) the *English* word *Sir* was affixed to the *Christian Names* of Clergy-men, from King John's time down to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which was also express'd in *Latine* by the word *Dominus*, as for example, in the witnessing of a Deed, *Testibus Domino Willielmo de Massy, persona de Bowden, Matheo Hale, &c.* And of the people calling their *Parish Priests* by the name of *Sir William Massy*, and the like, as in ordinary Communication we call Knights, we have the instance of the first *Christian* on whom here for his Religion incineration was practised, viz. *Sir William Sautre, Parish Priest* of the Church of St. *Scythe* &c. in London in Henry the Fourths time: for so he is Styled in the *Acts and Monuments*.

Bishop Sanderson who in his profession of Divinity was greater then any praise, was likewise so accurate an observer of the weight of what he affirmed in the Pulpit, though it was not of a point of Theology, that every thing he there said has a Title to be regarded: And he in his *Sermons in fol. ad Populum*, on 1 Cor. 7. 24. pag. 195, and 196, speaking of the Monks, saith, *It is well known in this our Land, how both Church and Common-Wealth groan'd under the burden of these heavy Lubbers: The Common-wealth, while they became Lords of very little less (by their computation who have travelled in the search) then one half of the temporalities of the Kingdom: and the Church while they engrossed into their hands the fruits of the best Benefices of the Realm, allowing scarce so much as the Chaff to those who tread out the Corn.*

*This profession is God be thanked long since suppressed: There is nothing of them now remains but the rubbish of their Nests, and the stink of their memories, unless it be the sting of their Devilish Sacrilege, in robbing the Church by damnable Improvements. He had before said they were *xang' diera*, and Slow-bellies, Stall-fed Monks and Friars, who liv'd mew'd up in their Cells, like Boors in a Frank, pinning themselves into Lard, and beating down their bodies till their Girdles crackt.*

But though it hath been truly observ'd, That the not providing for the augmentations of the poorer Livings in England, was a scandal to our Reformation, in that it made so many scandalous Livings, and consequently so many such Ministers, and it has been in, one of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, notify'd by Dr. James (as *Townsend's Collections* mention) that of Eight Thousand and odd Parish-Churches then in England, but Six Hundred did afford a competent Living for a Minister: And it has been publicly aver'd by Archbishop Whitgift, That there were Four Thousand Five Hundred Benefices which are not worth above Ten Pound a Year in the King's Books; yet the dispersing of so much of the Church Revenue among the Laity hath had this effect, namely, to engage the possessors of so great a proportion of the Land of England to be Champions against Popery; and one other good effect within my own observation it produced in the late times, when *Tithes* themselves were thought *Delinquent*, namely, that the *Improperiate Tithes* saved the others: And the not augmenting the poorer sort of Livings (the which mostly were in Cities and Corporations in the Countrey) hath not however prov'd any augmentation to the interest of Popery: For though the Reliques, and Images, and Shrines of Saints there, that brought a concourse of Offerers and Offerings thither enrich'd those places, and the Churches, and had the effect of *Staple Ecclesiastical Commodities*, and Harry the Eighth's abolishing them, reduced the value of the Livings there almost to nothing, they grew by occasion thereof afterward to be receptacles for heterodox *Divines*, who seiz'd on the Livings there in a manner *derelict*, and finding the *Genius* of Trading people averse from Ceremonies did represent the few and innocent, and indeed decent ones of the Church of England as odious to them, and therefore were sure of pleasing their auditors by constant declaiming against those of Popery, that were so many, and cumbersome, and had caus'd so much blood-shed, and were known to be Ceremonies both *mortuæ & mortiferae*.

And as *Doleman* alias *Parsons* observ'd in his time, that the strength of the Puritans lay in those Corporate Towns and Cities, there will the hatred of the Principles of the Papists probably for ever encrease.

I have for this purpose found it truly observ'd in a *Discourse* in octavo, concerning *Liberty of Conscience*, Printed for Nath. Brooks at the Angel in Cornhill: That the Puritan Preachers by their disesteem of Ceremonies and external Pomp in the worship of God, were the more endeared to Corporations, and the greater part of persons engaged in Trade and Traffic, who hate Ceremonies in general, and what does unnecessarily take up time: And that persons who nauseate Ceremonies in Civil things, will loath them likewise in Religious, as a man who has an antipathy against Muscadine in his Parlor, cannot love it at the Sacrament. And that if we reflect on those who did most love Ceremonies heretofore in our Nation, we shall find them to have been persons of the greatest Rank and Quality (who did effect Ceremonies in Civil things) or of the poorest sort, who did get their daily bread by the Charity of the other. So natural is it for men to Paint God in Colors suitable to their own fancies, that I do not wonder at Trading Persons who hate Ceremonies, that they thus think God in respect of this hatred altogether such as themselves.

That *Discourse* had before set forth, That 'tis natural to Men, who live by Trade and whose being rich or beggars depends much on the honesty of their Servants, to be enamour'd on that Preaching that is most passionate and loud against what looks like luxury, and is apt to occasion unnecessary expences to them: And therefore no humane Art will ever Reconcile them to one *Casuistical Tenet* that is so so branded in the Pope's said Decree of the second of March, viz. Servants of either Sex may secretly steal from their Masters, for the value of their service, if it is greater than the Salary which they receive.

The *Mystery of Jesuitism*, letter 6, pag. 80, cites for this *Tenet* Father Bau-ny's Summary p. 213, and 214 of the sixth Edition, viz. May Servants who are not content with their Wages advance them of themselves, by filching and purloining as much from their Masters as they imagine necessary to make their Wages proportionable to their services? On some occasions they may, as when they are so poor when they come into service, that they are obliged to accept any proffer that's made to them, and that other servants of their quality get more elsewhere.

At the rate of this Moral Theology no Tradesman knows what Money he has either in his Pocket, or Compter, or what Cash in his Closet, nor indeed any King what Treasure he has in his Exchequer.

But notwithstanding the aversion of many persons of high Birth and Breeding, and who are lovers of Pomp and Ceremony in matters Civil, and likewise in Religious, from the contrary humour of Trading Men, yet is there one thing that hath and always will (in spite of all differences in Religion) occasion an intercourse of Civility between the former Class of Mankind here, and the latter, and 'tis, that necessity of nature that makes the Borrower a Servant to the Lender, namely, that the expensive former Classe taking up Money at interest from the more frugal latter, obligeth them to give the Lenders the respect of fair quarter: And thus according to that *Bull* in *Tacitus*, That in some parts of Scotland the Sun shines all night long, there will still during the contrariety of their tenets, and humours, and which are as opposite as light and darkness, occasionally arise a clear understanding between them.

And of the Redundance of Money, the Puritans party had in the late times, and of their designed employing it for the greatning the interest of their party, the establishment of *Feoffees* by them for purchasing *Impropriations*, is a great instance: Of their great progress wherein we have an account in *Pryn's Compleat History of the Tryal of Arch-bishop Laud*, where he saith, And had they not been interrupted in this good work, they would probably in very few years have purchased in most of the great Towns and noted Parishes *Impropriate* in England in Lay-mens Lands: And which had they effected, they might have settled such a Bank of Land on the Fond whereof to have brought into their possession the greatest part perhaps of the money Currant in England, and that party without any but Silver weapons, have acquired such an arbitrage of the interests of all others in England, as to have usurped *Harry* the Eighth's Motto of *Cui adhæreo præest*.

But though the *Living*s in these great Corporate Towns are so small, and the value they had by oblations be evaporated every where but in the King's Books, (where it remains still to enhance their payment of *first Fruits* and *Tenth*s) the heterodox Divines there find Harvests of oblations rich enough, and so will the Divines of the Church of England, if ever a storm of Popish Persecution shall drive them there for shelter to be Pastors of the *Morned Men*; and if the worst comes to the worst, they will there find some fat gathered Churches better then lean *Bishopricks*, (as perhaps some heterodox Pastors do now there experiment them) and the ambient heat of
red,

State-favour that call'd out some of the inward one of Religion, being abated, they will probably grow more exemplary in austere virtue, and thereby attract so much reverence from their flocks as to become *Confessors*, as well as *Preachers* to them, for so the Non-conformist Divines there now in a manner are; and as *Confession* under Popery proved the only *Guaranty* to the Priests for their being paid their *Personal Tithes*, and as then people at their deaths expiated their omissions in the payment of their Tithes, by valuable *Legacies*, thus too will it probably happen to the Ministers of Christ's *New Testament*, and often, to be *Executors*, or at least *Legatees* in *Christians Wills*; the very dust of whose feet is thought beautiful by all Men, generally when their return to their own dust is approaching.

And the persecution design'd them will but reduce their state in the Eye of the World, to look and be like that of the *Primitive Christians*, who made the *Apostles* their *Bankers*, and the depositaries of their wealth; and whose Successors likewise in the administration of the Gospel during the following Ages of Persecution had good livelihoods, on the *Fond* of *Oblations*. And as for *Tithes* we hear nothing of them for many Ages in the *Primitive Church*. In the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Universae* published by *Jussellus* (the most authentick Book in the World next the Bible, and which contains the *Canons* received by the Universal Church till the year 451) there is not one word of *Tithes*. The Clergy were then liberally maintained by the free *oblations* of the people, which were called *ωρολογια*: And there was no such *Proverb* heard of in the World abroad as *laici semper sunt infensi Clericis*, till there was another unlucky one, *Ecclesia peperit divitias* &c. and till the *Goths* and *Vandals* being Profelyted to Christianity, express the natural zeal of new Converts by vastly endowing the Clergy with *Lands*, who had (as I may say) settled *Heaven* upon them, and whose great proportion in the balance of Land necessarily made them afterward one of the *Three Estates* in the Christian World. And most worthy of Christian Princes care it was to endeavour to secure the profession of Christianity in future times as well as their own, by providing that the Clergy should not be of the meanest of the people, nor depend on *benevolence*; which in the prosperous condition of Christianity might perhaps grow cold, as under Popery the Charity of *Oblations* had done, but for the Artifices before mentioned of *Saints*, *Shrines*, &c. and *Reliques*, and the fear of *Purgatory*.

Of the *Oblations* of the people here in *England* decreasing toward the *Pastors* of *Independent Churches*, when *Independency* became the Darling Religion of the *State*, we had an indication in the late times, when some of the most eminent of them obtain'd the possession of great Livings and their *Tithes*, and others of them retreated from their Churches to *Headships* of *Colledges*. Nor has there been any failure of the return of the old *Exuberance* of *Oblations* from such Churches to such *Divines*, who have again returned to them when they were dislodged from those preferments.

I find not that the Piety of our Ancestors had established any Revenue to the Church from *Tithes* in *England*, till about the end of the Eighth or middle of the Ninth Century; nor was the division of *England* into *Parishes* before the time of *Honorius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 636, till which time there could not be *Parochial Tithes*. About that time as 'twas said that the measure of donations to the Church was *immensitas*, so was the *modus* of their Artifices to preserve them *sine modo*, it being incident to humane Nature, to be restless in the acquiring of riches, for without the perpetual acquiring of more, no Man is sure to preserve the *Quota* of what he hath.

'Twas

'Twas thence that *Sacrilege* of the *Monks* arose, that tore the Bread out of the Mouths of the Parish Priests by the Name of *Appropriations*, which shewed the *President* to *Wolfeys* alienation of Religious Houles, that was the *President* to *Harry* the Eighth's. And it may well be supposed that the Design of the Monks in robbing the Parochial incumbents by *Appropriations*, was to propagate ignorance among the Laity thereby, and to leave the Age as dark as they found it, or rather to be able generally to let in or keep out what quantity of light they pleased.

Yet had those *Appropriations* been made in an Age of knowledge, they would then have met with that Nick-name of *Impropriations*, that was born many years afterward: and it would then have appeared *improper* to all that the Monks should *Muzzle the mouth of the Ox that did tread out the Corn*; and that old natural Zeal for Religion, so anciently radicated in *English* minds, that *Popes* have formerly complained they were addrest to with more questions about Religion from *England* than from all the World beside, would have inclined the respective Parishioners according to their abilities to contribute a liberal maintenance to their Parish Priests; and even in *St. Paul's* words, *To have plucked out their own Eyes, and have given them*, but that they saw that devotion that brought the fore-mentioned concourse of Spectators, and Offerers to the Images and Shrines, and to the Altars there made the Vicars at least competently to *live by the Altar*.

And if that *Classe* of heterodox Pastors in *Corporations* who as to skill in *Theology* and the *Encyclopædy* of Arts and Sciences, requisite to Crown a *Divine*, are generally but *Images* in comparison of the excellent *Divines* of the Church of *England*, have been how ever so much adored there, and had such offerings from their adorers, the substantial and learned *Divines* of our Church there, may on occasion well say, *quid non speremus?*

During that late persecution of the *Divines* of the Church of *England* in the times of the Usurped Powers, who therein exercised all the cruelty they durst, it might be truly said of the Doctrine of that Church, and the fire of the zeal of the Laity in providing for the liberal maintenance of many of its Clergy, as it is of *Lime* in the *Emblem*—*Mediis accendor in undis*. What burning and shining lights then in the midst of a perverse Generation were among others of the Church of *England* in *London*, Bishop *Gunning*, Bishop *Wild*, Bishop *Mossom*: Nor did their numerous Congregations in the least, for want of plentiful *Oblations* to them, starve the Cause of Religion. The last forementioned person at the *Funeral* of Bishop *Wild*, in a Printed *Panegyric* of his *Life*, takes occasion to speak of the *Oblations* in those times afforded him, and saith, p. 7. *And whereas some good Obadiahs did then hide and feed the Lord's Prophets, it was his care to Communicate to others what himself received for his own support. Many Ministers sequestred, many Widows afflicted, many Royalists imprisoned and almost famished, can testifie the diffusive bounty of his hand, dispensing to others in reliefs of Charity, what himself received of others in offerings of Devotion.*

And as if that Iron Age had been the Golden one of the Church of *England*, he doth so pathetically represent the internal glories of that Church in that conjuncture, that any one who would draw an Historical Painting of the State of the Primitive Church to the exactness and bigness of the life, might best do it by the Church of *England* sitting in that posture he describes. These are his words, p. 6, *And here I cannot but recount with joy amidst all this Funeral sorrow, what were then the holy ardours of all fervent devotions, in Fastings and Prayer, and solemn Humiliations: Ay, in Festival and Sacramental Solemnities. O the lift up praying, and yet sometime down cast weeping Eyes of humble Penitents! O the often extended, and yet as often en-*
folded

folded arms of suppliant Votaries! Upon days of Solemnity, O how early and how eager were the peoples devotions, that certainly then, if ever, the Kingdom of Heaven suffered violence, so many with Jacob then wrestling with God in Prayer, not letting him go till he gave them a blessing, &c.

Thus was that great Magazine of Learning and Piety Dr. Hammond in the late time of the Persecution of the Church of England, the Magazine then likewise of mighty Alms, insomuch that *Serenus Cressy* saith, in his Epistle *Apologetical* Printed in the year 1674, p. 48. Dr. Hammond in those days inviting me into England, assured me I should be provided of a convenient place to dwell in, and a sufficient subsistence to live comfortably, and withal, that not any one should molest me about my Religion and Conscience. I had reason to believe that this invitation was an effect of a cordial Friendship, and I was also inform'd that he was well enabled to make good his promise, as having the disposal of great Charities, and the most zealous promoter of Alms-giving that liv'd in England since the change of Religion.

Thus while as noble Confessors they forsook Houses and Land, they according to the Evangelical promise, received the effects of Houses and Lands, and prædial Tithes, an hundred fold in this Life, with the Gospel Salvo (as I may call it) of Persecutions: And as in the primitive and best times, when the Christian Pastors had no Tenths but the *Decumani fructus*, or Ten Persecutions, and many Christians were decimated for Martyrdom, that Community of Goods that was never read of to be practised but in *Utopia*, and that Renunciation of that dear thing called Property, (for the defence whereof Political Government is supposed to have been chiefly invented) did so much glorifie the Christian Morality, to the confounding all examples of the most sublime Morals of the Heathens, that the Pastors had the Christians All at their Feet, and did tread on Oblations at every step they took, so likewise those great Divines beforementioned, and many others, found that Primitive Temper, revived in some of the Lay Members of the Church of England by their generous Offerings and Contributions, which adorn'd the Gospel; and supported its Ministers, and which Laity, though cruelly decimated by the Usurpers, yet were then Rich in good works, ready to distribute, and willing to Communicate, and by their forementioned great liberality in Oblations, exceeding the rate of Tenths, did lay up in store a good Foundation against the time to come for the Pastors that shall be their Successors in Persecution, that may secure their expectations of good Pastures in our Cities, and of having a Table prepared for them in the presence of their Enemies, come what can come from Popery.

Moreover by such an accident only can the great Cities in England be freed from some illiterate Pastors of gather'd Churches, who without having their Quarters beaten up by Penal Laws, will disappear there, when the excellent try'd Veterans of the Church of England shall come to Garrison them. Those little Sheep-stealers of others Flocks will then no longer attempt there to have Common of Pasture without Number, but will by all be numbred, and found too light. 'Twill be visible to all that the Divines of the Church of England can with ease Preach in as plain a manner as the other, and that the other can not, with pains, Preach as Learnedly and Rationally as they.

We see that many ridiculous Lay-Preachers, who in the late times did set up a kind of Religion-Trade in great Cities, and did gather Churches, and likewise gather there some maintenance, have thence silently took their march on the occasion of the more Learned Presbyterian Divines ejected from their Livings, retiring thither, and there having constant auditories, partly resembling the guise of gathered Churches: And the disproportion

in intellectual Talents being generally as great between them and the Divines of the Church of *England*, as is that between them and the Lay-Preachers, they must there prove Bankrupt necessarily as the others did.

Dr. *Glawvil* in his Book called, *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, did but right to the Episcopal Clergy of *England*, when he ascribes to them the honour of having by their Learned Writings *Confuted, exposed, triumph'd over the numerous Errours of Popery*, and there names Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Andrews*, Archbishop *Laud*, Bishop *Hall*, Bishop *Davenant*, Archbishop *Usher*, Archbishop *Bramhal*, Bishop *Taylor*, Bishop *Cozens*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, Mr. *Mead*, Dean *Stillingfleet*, Dean *Tillotson*, Dean *Lloyd*, Dr. *Henry More*, Dr. *Brevint* : And speaking of the Episcopal Clergy of the City of *London*, saith, *How many Learned, Substantial, Convictive Sermons have they Preach'd against the Popish Doctrines and Practice since our late fears and dangers ? 'Tis true, some few others have written something, Mr. Baxter and Mr. Pool have laboured worthily : Dr. Owen hath said somewhat to Fiat lux, and there are some Sermons of the Presbyterians extant, Morning Lectures against Popery : these are the most, and the chief of their performances I ever heard of.*

The Conjunction of the few and evil days of Popery would occasion another good effect, a thing that is always to be wished, but (considering the general present ferment in Mens minds, and pass'd mutual exasperations) never else to be hoped for, and that is this, the common Calamity would cause such an Union between Protestants of several persuasions in Religion, as would put a *Period* to that dreadful state of dissension among them, which has so much *horror* in it, that all those subtle miscreants who have been able to cause it here, and make so many of them almost ready with the *ferity* of the *canes sepulchrales* to devour one another, can never in words express. Nor can my imagination paint out to me any thing of the kind like it in the past course of time, without my recollecting the description of the fears of the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, given by himself concerning the *State of the Church of Corinth*, to which he applies the words of *debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults*, and without my considering the *fermentation* in the City of *Jerusalem* when near its fatal destruction. But there will be a *finalis concordia* among the now implacable Protestants, if ever Popery should set up to be the State-Religion : And then any one who will give advice to a Painter to draw *The present State of the Protestant Church of England*, may make a good Copy from the great Original of that Prophecie in Scripture, *The Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together, &c. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain, &c.* And perhaps without going so far for a *Mountain* that may represent to ones fancy that *State of English Protestants*, he may find one in *England* to do the work, one that several of our *Historians* speak of, telling us that in the Year 1607, *When by the Irruption of the Severn Sea, the Country in Somersetshire was overflown almost Twenty Miles in length, and Four Miles in breadth ; it was then observ'd that Creatures of contrary natures, as Dogs and Hares, Foxes and Conies, yea Cats and Mice getting up to the tops of some Hills, dispensed at that time with their antipathies, remaining peaceably together without sign of fear ; and without any violence used toward one another.*

Nor do Men in great Towns supposed qualified only as the *Children of light*, but as the *Children of this World*, and as wise in their Generations, and as projecting their own wealth, and the encreasing of their Trade, and of the value of their *Rents*, by eminent *Oblations* provide for such Divines planting there ; and 'tis obvious to every thinking Man, that the erecting of

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Free-Schools, and encouraging excellent *Divines* to live in any particular Town, turns sufficiently to Mens account in this World as to the ends afore-said by attracting inhabitants. For it will be natural to Christians there, when they do not barely hear of a Christ *Transubstantiated* into a dull Wafer, but see one (as I may say) *Transfigured and shining as the Sun* in the Preaching of the Gospel, to say *Lord it is good for us to be here*, and for them there *to make Tabernacles*, and provide Oblations not for dead but living Saints; and as a *living Dog is more valuable then a dead Lyon*, so I believe that in any times of Popery here that can come, any one Corporation and a holy learned *Divine* of the Church of *England*, will get more by one another, then all Towns where Shrines and Images of dead Saints shall be set up, will mutually gain thereby.

Then will the *Clergy* and *People* being *benefactors* to each other be naturally ready to *pray* for each other, and the former being believed from their hearts to say *O Lord save thy people*, will find both an *Oral* and *Cordial* Response from the latter, *And blefs thy Clergy*.

But while I am thus accompanied by the *Guide* of Natural reason, travelling in the Region of future time, the time that only is the object of humane sollicitude, and from which anxious minds are too apt to fear that every days birth may be a Monster, : I have by considering the former Revenue accruing to the Church by Oblations, took occasion to Corroborate my great affirmation, of its not being naturally possible for Popery to exterminate the Protestant Religion in *England*, a Religion that Popery can never take by *assault*, or making of its professors Martyrs, nor yet by *Siege*, in *starving* its *Pastors*.

'Tis true, that such a great impost as Popery may occasion to Protestants by Oblations, may in one sense seem to have the nature of a punishment, namely, because 'twill not be a burden to which all Subjects, or indeed all Protestants will be equally liable, and it will chiefly light on the devouter sort of Protestants: And in like manner it may be said that the gain that arose from Oblations in the times of Popery to the Parish Priests of great Towns, was in effect an unequal impost on the Popish Laity, as being a *Tax* only on the more Ignorant and Superstitious of them. But any one who has in the least considered matters of State cannot but know that any great inequality of Taxes, that lights on the Subject as a mischief, doth prove to the Prince an inconvenience, to whom the Subjects pressure makes him unable to afford that *Subsidium* he otherwise could, and perhaps would cheerfully for the Publick safety. Thus may the great supposed charge to be incumbent on the more devout Protestants by Oblations, probably tempt them to use all the means the Law will permit, to render the Government of a Popish Prince uneasy to him, and certainly disable them from paying in that proportion toward the public Levys upon emergent occasions, they else might do.

It may therefore here be affirm'd, that the gain of Popes arising from *Indulgences*, which was so vast, that *Popes* would boast *That they could never want money while they could command Pen and Ink*, and which *Klockius* in his Book *de Contributionibus* observes, did yield the Pope in Common Years a *hundred Tuns of Gold*, i. e. a Million of pounds Sterling, (and which being an unequal *Tax* on Papists, and not pressing the *debauchees* of that Religion but only falling heavy on the more Pious and devout sort, made them the less able to supply the holy See with money on extraordinary occasions, or to pay their Taxes due to the Popish Princes they lived under, and particularly those due to the Pope as a Temporal Prince) has since in a manner dyed a natural death, the light of *Learning* having no sooner come into the

the World, then that poor *Hermit Fryer* Martin Luther scourged the Popes Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, with as much ease almost as our Saviour did the Jewish.

Any one who shall consider the burden of *Oblations*, that the devouter Roman Catholicks in *England* lye under, as to their *Priests* (which we may suppose to be very heavy, according to Mr. *John Gees* account in his Book called *The foot out of the Snare*, p. 76, where he saith, *That the Popish Pastors ordinarily had a fifth of the Estates of the Laity allowed them, and that he knew that in a great shire in England, there was not a Papist of 40 l. per annum but did at his own charge keep a Priest in his house; some poor neighbours perhaps contributing some small matter toward it*) may well think our Laity will bid as high for *English* Prayers, and for Wares they understand, and see, and weigh, as the Popish Laity doth for *Latine* ones, and Merchandize they are not allowed to examine; and he who considers that the Priests of that Religion, though thus pamper'd with Oblations, yet knowing them burthensom to the Laity, do feed themselves and them with hopes of the Restitution of Tithes to holy Church, and even of that sort of Tithes alien'd from it in the times of Popery, may reasonably conclude that our *Divines* whenever forced to fly to the asylum of *Oblations*, will be restless in being both Heaven's and Earth's Remembrancers, of their claim of Tithes appropriated to the Protestant Religion by the Laws in being, and that a violent Religion, and illegal Gospel will be but a Temporary barr against the collecting of Tithes, from a Land only during an Earth-quake.

I shall here acquaint your Lordship with a passage in the late times relating to the Clerical Revenue in *England*, worthy not only your knowledge, but posterities, and that is this: A Person of great understanding, and of great regard of the truth of the matters of fact he affirmed, and one who made a great figure in the Law then, and in the Long Parliament from the beginning to the end of it, related to me occasionally in discourse, *That himself and some few others, after the War was begun between the King and Parliament, were employed by the Governing party of that Parliament to negotiate with some few of the most eminent Presbyterian Divines (and such whose Counsels ruled the rest of that Clergy) and to assure them that the Parliament had resolved, if they should succeed in that War, to settle all the Lands, Issues and Profits belonging to the Bishops and other dignitaries upon the Ministry in England, as a perpetual and unalienable maintenance, and to tell them that the Parliament on that encouragement expected that they should incline the Clergy of their perswasion by their Preaching, and all ways within the Sphere of their Calling to promote the Parliaments Cause; and that thereupon those Divines accordingly undertook to do so: And that after the end of the War, he being minded by some of those Divines, of the effect of the Parliaments promise by him notified, did shortly after signifie to them the answer of that party, who had employed him in that Negotiation to this effect, viz. That the Parliament formerly did fully intend to do what he had signified to them as aforesaid, and that the publick debts occasion'd by the War disabled them from settling the Bishops Lands on the Church: But that however he was authorized at that time to tell them, that if it would satisfie them to have the Deans and Chapters Lands so settled, that would be done: And that then those Divines, in anger reply'd, They would have settled on the Ministry all or none: representing it as Sacrilege to divert the Revenues of the Bishops to Secular uses, and that thereupon they missed both, the Deans and Chapters Lands being sold.*

Those *Divines* it seems had a presension that the prosperous Condition of their Church, would diminish the Charity of Oblations, and therefore did not impolitically try to provide for the duration of their Model, by di-
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viding both the Bishops Power and Lands among their Clergy : And no doubt but in the way of a *fac simile* after this Presbyterian Copy, the Popish Priests will in concert with the Pope, even under a Popish Successor as well as now, combine to lessen the King's power, and advance the Pope's, on promises from the *Holy See*, that they shall have the Church Lands restored to them.

And I doubt not but a Popish Successor will support a Popish Clergy with what maintenance he can, having a reference to the Law of the Land, and likewise to the Law of Nature that binds him first to support himself: and perhaps by keeping vacant Bishopricks long so (a thing that by Law he may do) he may have their Temporalties to bestow on whom he shall please, and perhaps by issuing out new Commissions about the valuation of the Clerical Revenue, a larger share of First-fruits and Tenth's legally accruing to him, may enable him to gratifie such Ecclesiasticks as he shall favour. But as I likewise doubt not that ever any accident of time will leave the disposal of such a great proportion of the Church Revenue at his Arbitrage as the Usurpers had at theirs, so neither do I of his affairs ever permitting him to allow so large a share of that Revenue to his Clergy as the Usurpers did to theirs, whom as those Powers durst not wholly disoblige (and therefore unask'd settled on them toward the augmentation of their Livings the Improprate Tithes belonging to the Crown, and to the Bishops and Deans and Chapters, though yet nothing of their Terra firma) so neither durst those Presbyterian Divines who followed them for the Loaves, and who once in a sullen humour resolved not to have half a Loaf rather then no Bread, reject the Improprate Tithes given them, because they saw a new Race of Divines called Independent ready to take from those Powers what they would give, and who were prepared by their Religion to support the State-government, and some of whom had already acquired Church-Livings, and others of whom in the great Controversie among all those Parties (which was not generally so much *de fide propagandâ* as *de pane lucrando*) would with the favour of the times easily have then worited the Presbyterian Clergy in the scramble for that thing aforesaid, that though Moreau in his learned Notes on *Schola Salerni*, saith, no Book was ever writ of, yet I think few have been writ but for, namely Bread.

But herein on the whole matter the Usurpers Policy was so successful as that ordering the great Revenues of the Church as they did, and Appropriating the Bishops and Deans and Chapters Lands to the use of the State, they by the augmentations arising from the Fond of the Improprate Tithes to their Clergy (and especially to those of them they planted in great Towns and Cities) ty'd them to their Authority (as I may say) by the Teeth, and kept them from barking against it, or biting them, which else they would have been likely to have done, being disappointed as to their *gratiæ expectativæ* of the Lands of the Bishops, had they been let loose to have depended on maintenance by Oblations in such Towns and Cities, and where they would have probably tryed with a diversified Curse ye Meros, to fly in the faces of Masters who would not feed them.

I have before said how the Parliament sweetned them into obedience by the luscious power of oppressing their fellow Subjects: But neither by any Revenue adequate to those Improprate Tithes, nor by any such power of oppressing (that prerogative of Devils, to torment) can it be imagined that a Popish Successor will ever be able to ensure the obedience of his Clergy to himself. His Bishops and Dignitaries will be like the Popes Trent Titulars without a Title, I mean one to a Dignity or Benefice, and the burden of the Clerical Papists maintenance, lying still on the laity, will make Popery soon visibly grow weary of it self.

I shall here take occasion to observe that Tithes were first called *Impropriate* by the *sarcasm* of the dislodged *Monks*, who thought that the Tithes *Appropriated* (for that was the Antient Law-term for them) were improperly placed on *Lay-men*; but both the present possessors, and all that know that 'tis necessary for *England's* being a *Kingdom* and no *Province*, that its Riches accruing by the number of its Inhabitants, and by improvement of its Soil, should keep its weight in the *Balance* of Christendom, especially considering the growth of *France*, will for ever think it very *improper*, that so much of its Land and Wealth and Populoufness should be sacrificed to Religious *Idlers*, and that according to Bishop *Sanderson's* account, almost half of the Land should be turn'd into *Franks* for *Boares*, or as I may say, *Sties* for such as are *Epicuri de grege Porci*, or such as were call'd *Barnevelts*; *Hoggs*, he having called the Monkish *Herd* by that name, of whom if *any* angers one they all rise against him, and if he pleaseth them all, there is nothing to be got but *Bristles*.

That *Herd* was not a little molested, as Mr. *Fox* tells us, by a private Gentleman one Mr. *Simon Fish* in the Year 1527. who writ a little Book called *The supplication of Beggars* address'd to the *King*, and it had the honour to reach his Eyes, and to be lodged in his Bosom three or four days, and to bring its Author to be embraced by the *King*, and to have long discourse with him, as Mr. *Fox* affirms, who Prints that Book, wherein the Author with much laboured curiosity attacks the Revenue of the *Monks* with *Arithmetick*, a Science necessary for the strengthening of Political no less Military Discipline.

He saith there in the beginning *That the multitude of Lepers and other sick People and Poor, was so encreased that all the Alms of the Realm sufficed not to keep them from dying for hunger: And that this happened from counterfeited holy Beggars and Vagabonds being so much encreased. These saith he) are not the Herds but Wolfes, &c. Who have got into their hands more then the third part of your Realm. The goodliest Lordships and Mannors are theirs. Beside this he sets forth that They have Tithes, Oblations, Mortuaries, &c. And he therein saith, That there being in England 52000 Parishes, and Ten Households in every Parish, and five hundred and twenty Thousand Households in all, and every of the five Orders of Fryers receiving a peny a quarter, that is Twenty Pence in all yearly from every one of these Households, the Total Sum was 430333 l.—6 s.—8 d. Sterling.* He further sets forth, *That the Fryars being not the four hundredth Person of the Realm, had yet half its profits.*

There were in that little Book many things so pungent, and so confirm'd by *Calculation*, that the *Clergy* put no meaner a Person then Sir *Thomas More* on the answering it in Print; and it occasion'd the Bishop of *London's* publishing an *Edit* to call in that little Book, and the *English* New Testament, and many Books writ against the excesses of the Priests. Well therefore might Sir *Thomas More* be favour'd with a *License* to read *Heretical Books*, when he was to be at the fatigue of answering them. Sir *Thomas* in his Answer to it makes a just exception to Mr. *Fish's* estimate of the number of *Parishes* in the Realm: But admitting there were then Ten Thousand *Parishes* in *England*, and about Forty *Houses* in one *Parish* with another in the Country (beside what were in great Towns and Cities) he might modestly Calculate 520000 Households in all.

Nor is it to be much wondered at, That a private Gentleman should err in the excess of the number of the *Parishes*, when we are told in *Cotton's* Collections, That in the 45 of E. 3. The Lords and Commons in Parliament granting the *King* a *Subsidy* of 50000 l. at the rate of 22 s. 4 d. for each *Parish*, they

they estimated the Parishes then near that number ; but were afterward inform'd by the Lord Chancellour, that by returns made into the Chancery on Commissions of Enquiry, it was found there were not so many Parishes in the Realm.

It had been very acceptable to those who in this Age take their Political measures of the power and growth of Kingdoms from Numbers, if either Mr. Fish or Sir Thomas More who answered his Golden little Book (as I may call it, for his endeavours therein to fix matters relating to the Oeconomy of the Kingdom by Calculation; and for his being a Columbus to discover rich Mines without going to America, nor yet further then home) or if any of our Monkish Historians, or even our Polish'd and Ingenious ones, and particularly My Lord Bacon, and my Lord Herbert had given the World Rational estimates of the Numbers of the people of England in the times they writ of, or particularly of the Numbers of the Males then between the Years of 16 and 60, for if they had done that (as on the publick Musters made by occasion of Warlike preparations they might perhaps well have performed) we might now easily by the help we have had from the *Observator* on the *Bills of Mortality* conclude, what the entire Number of the People then was, and might likewise have better agreed on a stated Rule of the Period of Nations doubling ; a Curiosity in knowledge not unworthy the Genius of an Inquisitive or Philosophical States-man, and which presents to his View as in a Glas the *Anatocisme* of the *fætus populi*, resembling the Interest upon Interest of Money ; as for Example, when we see that one pound in Seventy years (the Age of a Man) is, at 10 per cent. encreased to a Thousand.

But it is our misfortune, that through the afore said omission of our *Historians*, we are not so much illuminated about the encrease of the English Nation, as we are about the gradual multiplication of the People of Rome so many hundred years ago : And indeed by the help of the *Writers* of other European Countries we are taught to know the Numbers of all people but our own. But in this State of improvement that the World is arrived at, I do account that all who shall hereafter employ their Pens about that greatest exercise of humane Wit and Judgment, call'd *History*, and shall not found the weight of their Remarques upon the Numbers of the People they write of, will no more be termed grave Authors, or indeed ought but grave nothings, and such who deal irreverently with a World that is weary of trifles, and from which they are to expect no other Doom then that of the *Annales Volusi*.

And though as to the *fætus populi* as well as to the *fætus pecuniæ*, called *fænus*, accidents may happen that may cross the Rule of encrease in both Cases, as in the latter by Bankrupts, and in the former by Plague or War, &c. (and thus once as to the Romans, *Censa sunt Civium Capita 270 Millia*, and in the following enrollment but 137, *Ex quo numero apparuit*, saith the Historian, *quantum hominum tot præliorum adversa, fortuna populi Romani abstulisset* ; as if he would infer that the losses they received from Hanibal had swept away 133000 Citizens) yet do such exceptions but confirm the Rule, the which may be made out by continued mean proportionals. But this by the way.

If my Lord Herbert who mentions pag. 121 of his *History*, That in the Year 1522 Warrants were issued out, Commanding the Certificates of the Names of all above sixteen Tears old, had set down the total number of the persons certified, he had much more obliged the World then by many things in his *History*.

I do not remember that any of our Historians of those times do relate the Numbers of the Religious Persons that all the suppressed Monasteries contain'd.

We are told by Godwin in his *Annals*, That the number of the Abbies that were in England is not easily cast up, and the Names of the chiefest, and whose Abbots had voices among the Peers in Parliament, he thereupon enumerates.

But Weaver in his *Funeral Monuments* p. 104, mentioning That all the Religious Houses under the Yearly value of 200 l. being given to the King, and that they were all worth per annum 20941 l. saith, That the Religious Persons put out of the same were above Ten Thousand.

My Lord Herbert p. 441, speaking of that sort of Monasteries, being dissolved in the 27th year of the King's Reign, makes *Thirty, or Thirty two Thousand pound yearly thereby fall into the King's hand*: And p. 507, makes the total yearly value of all the Religious Houses suppressed to be 161100 l. It may therefore be thence infer'd, that if *Thirty Thousand pound* yearly maintain'd 10000 Religious Persons, that there were maintain'd by the 161100 l. above 50000 Religious Persons or Regulars: And according to the aforesaid rate of the yearly value of the Land, viz. 161100 l. the allowance to each came to somewhat above 3 l. per annum, the which shews that those Lands were not sold to half the value, because less then double that Sum cannot be imagined to have maintain'd such a person then.

I do account that supposing the *Parishes* to have been then in England and Wales, as Cambden in his *Britannia* says, 9284, that the Secular Clergy added to the Number of the Regular only the last said Number: For then the Canon Law (which requires, that Orders shall not be given to Men without Titles) being strictly executed, there were perhaps not more Parish Priests in England: And the adding to those Numbers the Dignitaries, viz. Two Archbishops, and 24 Bishops, and 26 Deans, and 60 Arch-Deacons, and 544 Prebendaries, and several Rural Deans, doth enlarge the Sum to another Thousand of Persons who lived by the Altar. Moreover there being then estimated to live in Oxford and Cambridge about Sixty Thousand Students, who in expectation of Church-preferment, as either Regulars or Seculars, abstain'd from Marriage, I account that the Number of Persons then ty'd by Celibate from encreasing and multiplying the people to be above 120000, as at present above double that Number are in France.

What accrued to the Secular Clergy then, or since by *Tithes* ought not to have been looked on by any one with an evil Eye, as I suppose by Mr. Fish it was not. For as to the nature of the payment of *Tithes*, according to the judgment of Sir W. P. in his Book of *Taxes and Contributions*, p. 58, It may be said to be no Tax or Levy in England, whatever it might have been in the first age of its Institution.

And this notion of his may be extended even to that which is called a *Tenth*, but is revera a *Fifth* (I mean the *Tith* of arables in regard of the charge of Culture and Seed, which is ordinarily at least as much as the *Rent* of the Land) because it is a charge equally incumbent on all proprietors of such Land, and for that the true notion of Wealth and Riches depends on comparison, and 'tis only the inequality in the proportion of the Tax that is the sting thereof.

But that which Mr. Fish chiefly level'd his Calculations at, was the excessive share in the Wealth of the Kingdom the Monks and Fryars had, who did so little for its preservation, and the encrease of its Numbers. What an infinite number of people, saith he, might have been encreased to have peopled the Realm, if this sort of Folk had been married like other Men! Instead of
using

using his Rhetorical Expression of *infinite*, I shall affirm that these 120000 adult, able persons living in *Celibate* might according to the notion of the *Observer of the Bills of Mortality*, That every marriage, one with another, produceth four Children, *viz.* Two apiece for each Sex, have more then doubled their number in the same age: by which any one may well conclude, that as the number of the people of *England* is now vastly encreased by the dissolution of Abbies, so it would likewise be so diminished by their re-establishment. To effect therefore to lessen thus the number of the people of *England*, when the *French King* with great wisdom has by the Revival of the *Roman Immunity* of the *Jus trium librorum*, and the application of others, laid so a great Foundation for the growing populousness of *France*, would too much expose us to his power and derision.

The Divine Wisdom's allotting to the *Levitical Tribe* the affluent *quota* it enjoy'd, is very justly took notice of by those who discourse of the Clerical Revenue.

The Author of the *Present State of England*, saith, *That our Ancestors according to the pattern of God's ancient people the Jews, judged it expedient to allot large Revenues to the English Clergy, and that the English Clergy were the best provided for of any Clergy in the whole World, except only the Nation of the Jews, among whom the Tribe of Levi, being not the Fourth part of the twelve Tribes (as appears in the Book of Numbers) yet had, as Mr. Selden confesseth, and that by God's own appointment, three times the Annual Revenue of the greatest of the twelve Tribes.*

Doctor Covel in his *Modest and Reasonable examination of some things in use in the Church of England*, Printed Anno 1604, saith in Chapter the Eleventh, *That the Levites were not the Thirteenth part of the Jews, and yet had the Tenth: Wherein that Doctor agreed with the sense of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, who (as 'tis mention'd in the latter end of the History of that Council) said, That in the Mosaical Law God gave the Tenth to the Levites, who were the Thirteenth part of the people, prohibiting that any more should be given them; But the Clergy now which is not the Fiftieth part, hath gotten already not a Tenth only, but a Fourth part.*

But by exacter Calculations, 'tis apparent that the *Levites* though a small Tribe (if a Tribe, there being twelve beside) scarce the sixtieth part of the House of *Jacob*, had perhaps a *Sixth* of the whole profits of the Land: They had the *Tenth* or *Tith* of the Land, together with its Culture; they had in *Judæa*, a small Country, 48 Cities, with their Suburbs, 2000 Cubits from the Wall on every side, and their first-fruits, and a great part of the manifold Sacrifices, and free-will-offerings of the Male Children of *Israel*, which were to appear thrice yearly before the Lord with some Offering, and whatsoever House, Field, Person, Beast, &c. was by a singular Vow given to God, which was to be valued by the Priest himself, and all these duties were brought in to the Priest, without charge or trouble: and those Cities and Lands descended from them to their posterity, from generation to generation, as also did their *Tithes* and *Offerings*.

I shall here observe, that that which hath probably induced so many to err in making the number of the *Levites* so great as aforesaid, was their not considering what yet is really true in Nature, namely, That the number of people of any Nation from a month old and upwards (for so the *Levites* were counted *Numb. 3. 39.*) is more then double their number from Twenty years old and upward, and so the rest of the Tribes were numbred *Exod. 33. 26. Numb. 26. 62.* And therefore I infer that the *Levites* were but about a sixtieth of the number of the other Tribes.

But during the Theocracy that the *Jews* sometimes lived under, or while God was their King, it being worthy of the Divine Empire to design and promote the wealth of its Subjects, and consequently that they should encrease and multiply (for that alone is real wealth) there was no Celibate among the *Levites*, or any degree of Ecclesiasticks to hinder the same.

Having thus in the way of Calculation glanced on the Ecclesiastical Polity of God's peculiar People or Subjects, I suppose the rectitude of that Rule will shew the obliquity or warping of the practice of the Papal Clergy: For if we do admit (as I believe we well may) that there are seven Millions of people in *England*, of which 120000 is a sixtieth part, this old Church Polity of the Popes Clergy doth *Toto Cælo* differ from that of the *Israelites*, in that they spend double the proportion of the wealth of the Kingdom, and yet live in Celibate or without multiplying: And as Mr. *Fish* in effect said in that his Book, do hinder procreation by promiscuous coupling with other Mens Wives.

But 'tis a known great truth, that the great business of the Monks, and the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Papal Clergy was not to make the Kingdom populous, but to depopulate. We have for this the testimony of *Walter Mappe* Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, who was bred up with *Henry* the Second, that the Abbots and Monks in that time were very Criminous in the point of depopulation, whence that Proverb arose *Monachi desertum aut inveniunt aut faciunt*, wherever they seated themselves, they either found the place a Desert, or made it one.

'Tis said of them, *That they laid more places waste then ever William the Conqueror or his Son Rufus did, when they demolished and destroyed many Parishes to enlarge the bounds of the new Forrest.*

In that Fleet of depopulators there was one first-rate one, namely *The Abbot of Osney*, who was for his Talent of depopulating so remarkable, that 'twas observed that he made all *paupers* that dwelt within the *purlieus* of his Possessions: And of this *Henry* the Second took such notice, that one day when he had not poor people enough for his Alms on some great Festival he said in a fit of anger, *That rather then his bounty should be unemployed he would make as many beggars as the Abbot of Osney had done.*

One would think that the *Monks* should have been well willers to the encrease of the populousness of the Kingdom, for that thereby the values of their Lands would have been encreased, a thing no doubt that appeared visible to the Reasons of the more Sagacious among them: But there was another thing they found palpable, that is, they found themselves well at ease, even to envy in their vast share of the wealth of the Nation, whereby they *Lorded it over both God's inheritance*, and the Laity, and therefore they did not fancy the sight of the Sea of the people increase, by the coming in of the Tide of new generations, that would have produced much more persons to maligne, and perhaps contest with them: they naturally therefore wished the sweet absence of such company from the World, just as in *Ireland*, and other thin peopled Countries, the Natives living at their ease have sharp regrets against the accession of strangers, though they know it would raise the value of their Lands, and as in *America* the Natives wish no improvement to their Country from the *Spaniards*.

The Monks had got the Monopoly of Religion, and near half the Land by it, and not having any certain Issue to endear posterity to them, and consequently to oblige them to promote the wealth of the Kingdom in general, and to consult thereby the good of surviving parts of themselves (for that figure Children make as to Parents) they and the Abbots and Popish Bishops cared for no more then being warm in the Pyes Nest while they lived,

ved, and 'twas as natural to them to repel the thoughts of Colonies of people advancing the wealth of the Kingdom by new generations, as 'tis natural to present Trading persons to prevent the publick good of an *Act of Naturalization*.

And as this advancement of *depopulation* was therefore the interest of the *present* Monks and Priests, so was it of the *present* Popes, who knew they were sure of receiving Aids and Contributions from them, as long as numbers of other fresh comers did not drive them off the Stage.

One would rather wonder that our Popish Monarchs saw it not sooner their Interest, to crush the Politics of these holy *Depopulators* and *Pastors*, that turned the Kingdom into Sheep-walks, and who minding chiefly the encrease of Cattle by pasture, hindred that encrease of Men that the advancement of Tillage would have produced, and the furnishing the Crown with more Subsidy Men, and Soldiers. But this supineness of our Kings was not only caused by Superstition, and a vitiated fancy in Religion, an Idol to which *Philip* the Second sacrificed his *Son* (and therefore might be well supposed prevalent with others to wish the generation of their Children or Subjects restrained) but our Kings were not then stimulated by necessity to promote the populousness of their Realm, for that their riches and strength depending on comparison, the same Religious Orders did by *Celibate* and *Depopulation* equally obstruct the Wealth and Power of the neighbouring Kingdoms as well as this, and by that means they were not our *overmatch*.

But the course of encreasing Generations having operated so far as to awaken the World, and Men for not having so much Elbow-room as they had, jostling one another by the violence of War, the politics of *Statutes* against *Depopulation* were forced and reinforced on this Realm: And like as Men, so too will such *Statutes* beget one another (as I may say) *to the end of the Chapter*. Nor is the power of the Kingdom ever likely again to be really emasculated by such as pretended *To make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake*, and honoured not the *Founder* of Christianity, of whom since he for the good of Mankind made his first Disciples *fishers of Men*, it may seem unworthy that he should intend the hurt of States and Kingdoms, by making the following *Doctors* of his Church *Pastors of Sheep*.

Sir *Thomas Moor* in the first Book of his *Utopia* doth with a sharpness worthy his excellent wit tell us, *That certain Abbots (holy Men God wot) not profiting, but much damnifying the Common Wealth, leave no ground for Tillage, they enclose all in pastures; they throw down Houses, they pull down Towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the Church, to make of it a Sheep-house. And afterward saith, That one Shepherd is enough to eat up that ground with Cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And he in that Book calls the Fryers errone maximos, and desires they might be treated like Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars. And in the Second Book contrives a Model of the Priesthood so as not to make it such a Nuisance to the Civil Government, as the Papal one was, accordingly as has been before discoursed. For one of his fundamentals there is, That the Priests should be very few, and that they should be chosen by the people like other Magistrates, and with secret voices; and enjoyns to his Priests marriage, and makes them to be promoted to no power but only to honour.*

Sir *Thomas More* it seems was far then from *Writing at the Pope's Feet*, (the Character that was afterward given to *Bellarmino's* style) and there was as little occasion for a peace-maker's interposal between him and *Fish*, as is between two wrangling Lawyers at a Bar.

But

But the matter is well mended with our *English* World since the time of the *Supplication of Beggars*, as appears by the multitudes of the healthy and robust *Plebs* of our Nation, that Till the Earth and Plough the Sea; and who by the proportion of the Mony Current coming to their hands, having fortify'd their Vital Spirits with good diet, there is *finis litium*, and an end of such *Lamentations*, as the beginning of that *Supplication* to the King in part before referred mentions, viz. *Most lamentably complaineth of their woful misery to your Highness, your poor daily Beads-men the wretched hideous Monsters, on whom scarcely for horreur any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of Lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, &c. How that their Number is daily so sore encreased, that all the Alms of all the well disposed people of this your Realm is not half enough to sustain them.*

There is no doubt but their indigence was extream, when they were to glean not only after the Reaping of the *Monks*, but after the Ecclesiastick *Beggars*, the *Fratres Mendicantes*, (or as they were then called *Manducantes*) had been satiated in *diebus illis*, and when *Holy Church* almost engrossed not only the wealth but the begging in the Kingdom.

And he who now looks on our *English* infantry when they turn their *Plough-shares* into *Swords*, will see nothing of the horreur of starvelings in their faces: and the *Writ de leproso amovendo* is in effect obsolete in nature, as that too *de hæretico comburendo* is abrogated: And within the Term of about twenty years that the Observator of the Bills of Mortality refers his Calculations to, he mentions but six of 229150 dying of the *Leprosie*. What the Bills of Mortality in *France* may contain about deaths by the *Leprosie*, happening there in late years, I know not, but do suppose that the general Scurfe appearing in the skins of the *Pesantry* there, condemned to *Sell their Birth-right* of nature for no *Pottage*, and to eat little of the Corn they Sow, and to drink as little of the Vines they Plant, and to taste little of Flesh, save what they have in Alms from the Baskets of the Abbies, and who are Dieted only for Vassalage, may be an indication of the *Leprosie*, having still its former effects among them: But our *English* Husband-men are both better fed and taught, and the poorest people here have so much of brown Bread, and the Gospel, that by the Calculations on our *Bills of Mortality* it appears, that for so many years past but One of Four Thousand is starved.

'Tis therefore I think by instinct of *Nature*, That our *Teomanry* in the Country, though not addicted to mind niceness of Controversie in Religion, nor to be dealers in the Protestant Faith by Retaile, are great Whole-sale Traders in it, and will as soon suffer their Ploughs to be took out of their Hands, as their Bibles from under their Arms: And they have been generally observed since the Plot, and some years before, to manifest in common discourse their robust abhorrences of *Poperie*, as supposing that under that Religion they could neither save their Souls, nor their Bacon.

Doleman alias *Parsons* in the Second part of his *Book of the Succession*, speaking of the Numbers of the *Papists* here, makes it very considerable, In that the most part of the Country people that live out of Cities and great Towns (in which the greatest part of the *English* forces are wont to consist) are much affected ordinarily to their Religion (meaning the Popish Religion) by reason the Preachers of the contrary Religion are not so frequent with them as in Towns, &c.

But were he now alive he would find the Scene of things changed in our Country Churches since *Queen Elizabeth's* time, in whose Reign a Book was printed Anno 1585, called *A lamentable complaint of the Commonalty by way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament for a learned Ministry*. He would find that even in the poorest of our Country Parishes (where yet by

by the encrease of people since her time, the values of the Livings are proportionably encreased) there are Ministers more learned then were there in his time, and that the *Reading the Prayers and Homilies* of our Church hath furnished our Country-Folks with so much understanding, as will render them for ever unwilling to fow the matter of which to make the God they must either devour, or be devour'd by. Had Mr. Coleman vouchsafed to have spoke with some of this sort of men, he would not have thought the whole Kingdom ready like moyst Wax to have receiv'd the impressions of Popery, but would have observ'd in them, That with the stubborn and *proverbial Pride* of a *Russet Coat*, they disdain to draw in the Yoke either of Papacy or Presbytery, and that they talk of *Popery* as a Religion that would sink down both their Souls and Bodies to the state of Brutes, and not only make agriculture vail to pasture, but bring them to eat Grass and Hay *more pecudum*, as a great Cardinal bragg'd that they had almost prepared the *Laiety* to do, till Luther shew'd them better things: and if any one who has not heard the sturdy *Anathema's* that our *Rustics* in their Common discourses bestow on Popery, and who has not observ'd that in Elections for *Knights of the Shire* their Suffrages are given to the most fiery Zealots against it, shall not have the same sense with me of the general intense hatred of the Countrey People against Popery, let him Cast his Eye on the *Returns* made in the *Bishops Survey* of the Number of *Papists* above the age of 16, for those two *Diocesses* in which the glory of our English *Teomanry* so much abounds, namely of our *Teomen of Kent*, and he shall find that the Number of *Papists* both male and female was in *Canterbury* Diocess but 142, and in that of *Rocheſter* 64; and one would think that the Neighbourhood of *France* might have transplanted more of the *Popish* Persuasion into those *Diocesses*.

The *Traditions* our Country People have had from their *Ancestors* concerning their *state* in the days of Popery, have sufficiently *antidoted* them against the poyson of *Traditions* from *Popish Priests* and such who would have them *Traditors* of their English Bibles. They have a joyful *Gusto* of the *Petition of Right* (as it were) fresh in their Mouths, and fear the being thrown back to the *supplication* of *Beggars*. They cannot think of the Times of *Monkery* here, without thinking of how many of the *Plough-men* in *England* were then *Villains*, and that too *Villains* to *Abbies*, for that part of their Land that was arable: they were *Villains* regardant to their *Mannors*, and such as the *Romans* call'd *adscriptitii glebæ*. And 'tis observ'd by Sir T. Smith in his 3^d. Book de *Repub. Anglorum*, c. 10. That the *Monks and Fryars* when they were *Conversant* with the *Layety* as *Confessors* in extremis, enjoyn'd them in the Court of Conscience for the honour of *Christianity* to manumit all their *Villains*: but (saith he) the said holy Fathers with the *Abbots and Priors* did not so by theirs. And he saith, *Quorum exemplis episcopi insistentes ab ista crudelitate nisi pretio conducti, aut Calumniis impetiti sero deterreri potuerunt. Dein aqutis solo Monasteriis & in manus laicorum recidentibus, libertatem omnes adepti sunt. i. e.* But at last the *Monasteries* being levell'd with the ground, they all gain'd their freedom.

Thus did the *Abbots and Monks* formerly affect the *Monopoly* of ordering *Villainage*: and the multiplying of the People born of their *Villains* by succeeding Generations, did but multiply *Slaves* to the *Abbies*; and at the same time they sow'd Corn for the *Abbyes*, they sow'd their Children too to *Villainage*: The which is apparent by an *Abbot and Convent's* formula of *manumission* in *Edward* the Third's time, mention'd in *Blount*, viz. *Omnibus—Frater Mathæus Abbas de Halesoweign & Conventus ejusdem loci salutem. Noveritis Nos unanimi voluntate & Consensu fecisse Johannem del Grene de Rugaker liberum cum tota sequela sua procreata & procreanda.*

But the Children that now come to see the light in *England*, are not *dam-nati antequam Nati*, Condemned to Servitude before they are born, and our Yeomen that are above wearing the *Badges* of our *Nobles*, will scorn the Vassalage to *Friers*: and when the *Genius* of the English Nation is so full of *Candor* (and what few Nations can pretend to) that they never make *Slaves* of their Prisoners of War in any part of *Europe*, none I believe will ever see their incomparable *Infantry* by whom their Battels are won, to become *Slaves* in Peace, and the very *Slaves* too of *Slaves*, I mean of the Monastic *Slaves* to sloth.

That 40 s. a *Tear* that made them in the state of *legales homines heretofore*, is now become in value 6 l. *per annum*: and as by the encrease of their Wealth they are the more enabled to go to *Law*, so the *Policy* of *William the Conquerour* to have mens *Lands* lie scatter'd as they are in *Common Fields*, to the intent that the multiplicity of *Law Sutes* occasion'd thereby might divert their uniting against him, (the which hath been *Commonly* call'd the *Conquerour's Curse*) hath however enured them to a pugnacious spirit of Litigation in the *Law*, and the effect of which tough *mettle* of theirs, *Popery* is likely to find if ever it shall be a *Trespasser* on them: and in fine, *Popery* need never balder us with any other *miracles*, if it can effect this one, namely, to reconcile our Husbandmen to love it, and to applaud the *Jus Divinum* of the *Monks* that coming in *Sheeps clothing*, would by a *Pasce Oves* make *Pasture* confound *Tillage*.

The truth is, they are as unlikely ever to effect this, as are any who love the Noble Sport of *Hunting*, to reduce *England* to its Primitive state, and more remote then *Pasture*, namely, *Forrest*, (for that and *Marsh* is the *Natural* state of all uncultivated and desolate *Lands*) tho they should too try to hunt as with a full cry out of the Scripture into that state, and with the *ro* *u* *†* *⊙* of *Isaia*, cry, *Resonate Montes laudationem, sylvæ & omne lignum ejus*; and further tell us of the antiquity of the Divine Right to *Forrests* appearing out of those words of the Royal Prophet, *For all the Beasts of the Forrest are mine, &c.* and should insinuate that 'twas fit to unpeople the Earth of men to make groves for Gods to inhabit.

We are told in the *Preface* to *Manwood*, That in the Reigns of *Richard the First*, *King John*, and *Henry the Second*, the *Crown* had afforrested so much of the *Lands* of the *Subjects*, as that the greatest part of this *Realm* was then become *Forrest*; but no man is so senseless as to pretend to fear the Return of any such state in *England*.

And according to the Principles of Sense and reason it may be affirm'd, That all Monkish hopes of our Ploughmen happening again to be over-run by *Shepherds*, are very extravagant, and *Popery* will grossly err, if it shall think that *Poverty* will ever compel this sort of men to the turpitude of taking up illegal Arms for it, or that it can eradicate their innate hatred against it.

The Subsistence that the Plough afforded our Husbandmen in their Trade, made few of them in Comparison of those of other Trades, become *Souldiers* in our late Civil Warrs: Nor were they then observ'd to favour those hyhocritical *Religion-Traders* the Land was then pester'd with. Nor indeed can they who really Till and Improve the Earth, naturally affect those who pretend to Cultivate Heaven; and by necessity of Nature it must still come to pass, that they who acquire their own bread by rearing it for others with hard labour, will have an aversion against those who can subsist luxuriously, by cheating others of it with easie Tricks, and against any attempts for a Resetled *Monkery*, which would, after the mode of the *Pyed Piper*, demand an unconscionable rate for trying to rid us of a few *hæretical Mice*, and which too tho our Land should pay, would yet depopulate it of its Children.

And

And here I cannot forbear to Observe, That there happen'd one thing so momentous, that it can never be forgot while the *English* Nation has a Being, and which did among our people in the Country Convey a fresh sense of the Pestilential nature of Popery, and of the encreasing Danger of its infection, and that is, that the Body of our Clergy of the Church of *England*, did generally from the Prefs and Pulpit for some Years together send so many strong Antidotes against Popery round the Kingdom. Every Pulpit almost from one end of the Land to the other did resound, as I may say, with a *Seasonable discourse against Popery*. It may be with Justice apply'd to those *Discourses* of our *Divines*, That they alarmed more than our *English* World, or perhaps the *Roman*, and that the World elsewhere did ring with their ὁ φθόγγος; I here allude to those words in the Epistle to the *Romans*, Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆ οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν: *Their sound went into all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the World*. There is no doubt but their *Sound* was heard to *Rome* by the help of the *Jesuits* intelligence, and that our *Divines* knew when they so Preach'd and Writ, they had pass'd the *Rubicon*, and that 'twas in vain like *Cranmer* to try to be reconciled to irreconcilable *Rome*, and that 'twould be as much in vain in any Course of future time to use politic whispers in Commendation of Popery after their former loudness against it, as for one who told a Husband that he saw such an one strugling to ravish his Wife, to say afterward that he was a very Civil Gentleman.

Our *Fanatics* therefore do by nothing more deserve that Name, then by nick-naming the Body of the Clergy of the Church of *England* as fautors of Popery, since 'twas but of yesterday that almost all our First and Second Rate *Divines* did like *Capital Ships* (as I may say) one after another attaque the Fleet of the *Romanists*, and discharge their Thunder upon them: but as my Lord *Bacon* hath observ'd, That in great Sounds the Continuance is more than momentary, and that the noyse of Great Ordnance, of which the Sound is carry'd many miles on the Land, and much further on the *Séa*, will there come to the Ear not in the instant of the shooting off, but an hour or more later, the which must needs be the Continuance of the first Sound; Thus too, I hope, that the aforesaid late ὁ φθόγγος of our Capital *Divines* against Popery which has been heard far and near among our Countrey Inhabitants, (and will I believe Continue audible among them during the hour of life) will in part of that *hour*, sooner or later, be heard with regard by our weaker *Brethren*.

But what a *Dæmon* then in understanding, or *God of Eloquence* had he need to think himself, and to be thought too such by others, who Imagines to talk *England* both out of its *Manna* of Religion, and what is better then its *Flesh-Pots* too, and to persuade us by bringing in *Monkery* again, to have our Land ore-run with Flocks of Sheep, and to want hands to Work their Fleeces, or (as I may say) to fancy to have Manufacture without hands; and for want thereof, to make our Sheep almost useles but only to eat, and in that way too to be chiefly appropriated to the Stomachs of *Lubbers*; and, who would allow our Land Flocks of Sheep, but not Dogs to guard them; I mean a sufficient growing *Populacy* in the Land to defend both it, and the very Flocks in it, and I may add too, who would almost make the Wooll of our Sheep useles but only to send into Forrain Parts; and who would abdicate from the Land that benefit of the continual passing of our *Wooll* here through so many hands busy'd in Trade, and thence fill'd with Wealth in the way of *Interest upon Interest* intended by Nature for the maintenance and subsistence of our People, so multiplying as aforesaid, and preparing Tables for all new Guests here, let them come into the World never so fast; and would have us Consent to the diminution of the

Number of our People, when for want of our being fully stock'd with them, so great a part of our Land lyes fallow every Year, as doth not in Countreys sufficiently Populous, and where the Lands value will quit the cost of the Manuring.

Alas; when through the Divine Blessing *England* shall arrive at the state of being fully Peopled, and being got beyond *Pasture*, that first improvement of a thin Peopled Country, shall likewise have Completed that second of *Tillage*, that our being better Peopled will occasion, there will lie a third in our View to employ the Labours of our Consummate *Populacy*, namely that of *Gardening*, and to oblige us that the Earth shall produce nothing but what is exactly useful: and instead of going back from *Tillage* to *Pasture*, we must naturally go forward from *Tillage* to *Gardening*, whereby one Acre may be made to maintain Twenty persons, whereas now 'tis observ'd that 20 Acres generally throughout *England* maintain but a fourth of that number, viz. 5. persons.

And when we are thus furnished with as many People as by *Tillage* or *Gardening* can well live on the Land, 'tis then, and not before, that our encreasing Populoufness will push on greater numbers of our Inhabitants to live on the Sea, which none will choose to do, that can live on the Shoare: and 'tis only such a state of populacy that can naturally make us Masters of the *Fishing-Trade*; to compass which, all our Projects before, whether by *Acts of Parliament*, or *Companies* and *Stock*, will be but Chymical.

Moreover, 'tis only such a state of *Populacy* that will exonerate us of those burdens of the Earth, and scandals to Heaven, I mean all *Religion-Traders*, whether *Popish* or *Fanatical*, those vilest of *Nominales* who cheat in *nomine Domini*, and such likewise who disquiet States by assuming the Trade of *World-menders*, and everlasting *Propounders*, that are like busie *Insects* flying in the Eys of Mankind, (and whom Sir *E. Coke* in the 85. Ch. of his *Institutes*, which is entituled against *Monopolists*, *Propounders* and *Projectors*, deservedly brands) and *Atheists* that would reform a Church, Bankrupts in their particular Trades that would advance Trade in general, Defiers of Justice who would amend the Law, and wasting that time as *Censors* of the Manners of Kings for not paying their Debts, which they should employ in acquiring *Assets* to pay their own: In fine, Undertakers to Cure Church and State as Confident as the *Quack* who said in his Bills, *He Cureth all Diseases both curable, and incurable*. All these sorts of men whose Trade is talking, and whose talk is cheat, will only come to be Bankrupt by being heaved out of all places by the Generations of Useful Traders multiplying there. Nature that has been long laying its Siege to such *Idlers* in places of resort, will then at last carry on its works so far as to leave them no Earth to play their Engines upon, and such unprofitable people will be as naturally extruded out of our Towns, as are Women and Children out of Places besieged: nor can all the humming of their *Propositions* procure them more continuance in such places of business, then the noyse of Drones entitle them to a residence in the Hive; and it will as little quit Cost to have them planted in our Cities, as for a Gardiner that pays a high Rent to have beds for weeds.

Of the Improvement of great quantities of Land by Gardening, the *Ilands* of *Fersey* and *Guernsey*, are examples: and we have a Pleasant and Profitable Prospect of such Improvement near our *Metropolis* and other Great Cities; and I doubt not but *England* may flourish so as to become the Garden of the World: and do as little doubt of any Course of time bringing the Pope again to say as *Matthew Paris* tells us he did, *Verè hortus Noster deliciarum est Anglia*, as I do of that honest Monk's sleeping till the Resurrection, or Mr. *Coleman's* having any more Dreams of a Paradise in the Gardens of *Woolburn*.

'Tis

'Tis hard for a *Visionaire* not to fancy any thing possible : but he who shall pronounce that *England* can from its present improvement and populousness be driven back *ad primordia rerum*, and that the many cultivated understandings in it, and who have reduced Knowledge *ad firmam* by calculation, can be reduced to the Calculation only of *Beads* and be imposed on like the *Indians* to part with their Gold for *Beads*, and that half the Land of *England* now inhabited by three *Millions* of People (as all estimates make to be the least that half of it contains) will be delivered up to 50000 *Regulars* and to persons that the *Laws* in being allow not so much as a Foot of Earth for *Graves*, and that it is not of equal detriment to a Country to have half the Land made *unprofitable* and become *Bog* or the like, as to be long in perpetuity to *unprofitable* people, and that such as make *property* their God (which they who over value the things of this Life do, and are the Majority of any Country) will idly sacrifice it to those *real* Impropiators who make but a *Property* (as I may say) of God, I mean those hypocritical *Idlers* who only by a Religion-Craft without any service useful to Mankind claim a great Quota of the Profits of others labours, and that when we are going on so fast toward the exactest culture by *Gardening*, which excludes all Weeds, the old *inimicus homo* shall find six *Millions* asleep to give him an opportunity to sow *Tares* and to ask half the Land for his pains, I say, he who shall pronounce as aforesaid, is one that looks but at few things, and so *de facili* shoots his Bolt, and is one that we may think to be a fool without being in danger of *Hell Fire* : and *Holy Churches* great work of the Conversion of three *Kingdoms*, to the end that it may Convert half the Land again to its use, is likely to prove as fruitless as the Christian endeavours to recover the *Holy Land*.

There is such a strong Rampart of living Earth against the assaults of *Poper*y in this kind. I mean the Number of our Protestants and particularly of those employ'd in Tilling the Land, that *Poper*y cannot dissolve : and let it pipe never so plausibly, we shall be like the *deaf Adder* stopping our Ears by laying them against the Earth we are possess of.

My Lord, They who have observed the *Intervals* of your pleasure, when you have had some breathing times for retirement, from the fatigue of Affairs of State, know that the contriving the improvement of your Ground by Tillage and Planting and Gardening, hath been at once your care and your delight. And I believe *Cicero's Cato Major* doth not describe the pleasure of *old Age* in the improvement of the Earth, with greater hight then your Lordship is able to do : and your example in this thing may Crown both that of *Tully* and the Aged *Hero's* by him there commemorated for delighting in *Husbandry* : and indeed it may be supposed but natural for old Age being so near the Earth its Center to move with a quicker sort of delight toward it, and especially among Christians to whom the dull Earth Aided by the acuteness of *St. Paul* (I referr to his similitude of the Corn) is so kind and grateful for their culture of it, as to Court them with an Embleme of their *Resurrection*, and to teach them a surer way, then *Gallileus* had found out to Transplant the Earth into Heaven. But now, methinks to one that has so curious and perfect a Sence of this solid and manly pleasure that the Culture of the Earth affords, as your Lordship, the very Idea of *England's* Degeneracy from its thriving State of *Agriculture* to poor solitary pasture (how unpracticable soever the thing is) must necessarily carry some horror with it to be imagined, and the very telling it to you that some vain *Popish Projectors* would rob us not only of the Culture of Learning, but even of that of the very Earth, must give your thoughts a *Nausea* instead of such a Noble *Extacy* as fill'd the whole

Soul of *Brasmas* who in his old Age in a Letter to *Budæus* speaking of Sir *Thomas More's* and other mens Works that did then begin to beautifie the World with Learning, cries out, *Deum immortalem, quod seculum video brevi futurum! Utinam contingat rejuvenescere!*

And as I am sure you would not desire to *Renew your Youth like the Eagle*, only to live in an Age of *buzzards*, so you know too much of the course of nature to wish your Life a day shorter for fear of the longevity of Popery, if ever it should call it self here the State-Religion: for it can naturally be but a short dull *Parenthesis* of time in an Age of Sense, and the Eye of Reason can see through the duration of it as well as thorough its absurdities, and it can naturally be but like an angry Cloud, that with the Eye of Sense we shall see both dropping and rowling away over our heads, and shall behold the Sun playing with its Beams around the Heavens, near it at the same time: and nothing can be easier to you then to *dye in the Faith*, that Popery cannot live long in *England*, and to know that you are not to be compared to an *Infidel*, though you should have provided for your surviving Family nothing but *Abby Lands*, the which I believe may by a bold instrument of Eternity drawn by a small Scriveners Boy, be effectually Conveyed to any Lay-man and his Heirs for ever.

I know that the present State of that part of the Land of *England* that was alien'd from the Church, is such that it bears not the price of years purchase it did before the *Plott*, and that it is according to the common expression, *become a drug* as to Monneys being taken up on it in comparison of other Lands: and it is obvious to consider how much herein the *Plott* hath prejudiced the Wealth and Trade of the Kingdom, in making so great a part of the Land in some regard comparatively useles to the Possessors: but I likewise know that hereby Popery will be no gainer, for that 'tis apparent that the owners of it will be indefatigable in the use of all means lawful to bring Popery to such a State, as shall make any men ashamed to say they fear it.

Tho *Holy Church* that everlasting *Minor*, that *Minor* like Sir *Thomas Mores* Child that he said would be always one, will be still labouring the Resumption of what was alien'd from it (and hence I believe it hath proceeded, that our Kings tho in the eye of the Law always at full Age, have thought fit to learn from *Holy Church* the Priviledge too of being reputed *Minors* or *Infants* in Law, for so the Books call them, that upon occasion they may resume what was alien'd from the Crown) and tho the hopes of such resumption would be a bait to help Popery to Multitudes of Profelytes, yet the people imagine a vain thing who think such resuming practicable in *England*, and especially at this time if the Calculation of the *Ebb* of the Coinage of *England* be as is contain'd in *Britannia languens*, viz. from the foremention'd period of May 1657, to November 1675, (near another nineteen years) 3,238,997 l. 16 s. 3; a Calculation that I think cannot be disproved but by the Records in the *Pipe Office*, where annual account of the Money Coined in the Mint are preserved, or by *Ballances* of Trade made up from that time, whereby the exportations eminently preponderating what is imported, would evince what considerable quantities of Bullion have been Coyn'd, or by our knowing that since that time *Sterling Silver* has not still obtain'd the Price of 5 s. 2 d an Ounce, a price that it has not indeed fall'n short of in *England* about these twenty years past, and therefore before the late Act for the Coynage, could never be entertain'd by the Mint to be Coyn'd, which was by its Law and Course necessarily restrain'd from giving for *Sterling Silver* above 5 s. the Ounce, and which Rate and no more it did afford when the *Ballance* of Trade favouring us caus'd that vast Coynage mention'd in the former Ternary of nineteen years.

But

But in fine, his Majesties Royal Goodness to his People in not only quitting what did accrue to him for *Coynage*, but being at the expence of the Coyning the most exquisite sort of Money in the known world, and such as in Curiosity does equal Meddals, is an indication of the *Ballance of Trade*, not having employed the Mint sufficiently in making for his Subjects the *Medium of Commerce*; and for the depression of the Trade not only of the *English* but of more then the *European* World, the Usurper *Cromwel* is to be justly blamed, who not long after the wounds *England* had felt by the *Munster* Peace, did harraß us by his fantastick War with *Spain*, which not only impoverish'd *England* but the Trading World, and forcibly obstructing the Returns of the *Spanish* Plate Fleets, did particularly put both *Spain* and *France* under a necessity of making that Peace that gave the *French* Crown its leasure to trouble the World.

But let any one judge then how ridiculous it is to suppose, that the Trade of the Nation must not, as I may say, shut up Shop, if half its wealth should be again juggled into the hands of a few Ecclesiasticks, and the old Trade between *England* and *Rome* be renew'd of giving the Pope Gold for Lead.

It must indeed be acknowledged by all who have conversed with History that the absolute and unbounded Power with which the *Eastern* Monarchs Governed their Kingdoms, did not more require an excessive share of the publick Revenue to feed standing Armies then Priests, who with their Idols and Superstitions, and Crafts, did awe and delude People into obedience: but as in orderly Commonwealths there is no need of such an immense Charge for Artifice to make men obey themselves, so in our Constitution of the *English* Government, it being justly to be supposed, that we have all the desirable, solid and substantial freedom that any Form of Government can import, besides the insignificance of the name of it (and insignificant we may well call it who remember that our late real Oligarchists took not only the name of God, but the name of a Commonwealth in vain) and are to the envy of Forraigners, and shame of our former Domestick Propounders, blessed with the Sovereign Power of a *Great and Glorious King over a free and happy People* (as the words of the *Royal Martyr* are in one of his *Declarations*) it may be well said to any one who shall talk of giving half the profits of the Realm to use Art, and Imposture to make Members obey their Head so constituted, *quorsum perditio hæc?*

But in a word, to come closer to the Case of Popery, any one that would have half the Revenue of the Kingdom given to Impostors for the making a Monarch only half a King, or King but of half his People, and for the tricking both him and them into a blind obedience to a Forraign Head, and for the making a Forraign Power Arbitrary and absolute, is a very bad Land-Merchant, and knoweth not the use or value of the soyle of *England*, and will never find the half of 25 Millions of Acres sold for Chains and Fetters, and will be put to the trouble of taking out the Writ, *de idiota inquirendo* against at least three Millions who have already outwitted him, and will never think a Forraign Minor and whose concessions are resumable, fit to be their Guardian, and account it a very preposterous thing that since our *Saviour* refused to divide an Inheritance, his pretended *Vicar* should do nothing else.

Moreover *Holy Churches* resuming all its Lands out of *Lay* hands, would appear the more strange in *England* when we see (as my Lord Primate *Brambal* saith in his vindication of the Church of *England*, p. 212) that the very Kings of *Spain* impose Pensions usually on Ecclesiastical preferments

to the 4th part of the value, and particularly one Pension on the Arch-Bishoprick of Sivile in favour of an Infant of greater value then all the Pensions there imposed by the Pope; and when we know that the French King doth for the behoof of so great a number of Lay-men, impose so many and great Pensions on the Abbeyes without saying to the Abbots more then *Car tel est nostre plaisir*.

Sir Edwyn Sands in his *Europæ Speculum* writ in the Year 1599, and in the time of Harry the 4th of France, speaking of that Kingdom, saith, *That there the Church Prelacies and other Governments of Souls, are made the Fees and Charges of meer Courtiers and Soldiers: and our excellent Animadvertiser on Monsieur Sorbier reflecting on that Country, intimates in effect how there the chiefest spiritual dignities are entailed upon Families, and possess'd by Children.*

They who unjustly cry out of the Constitution of the Church of England, for interrupting the Trade of the Kingdom, would be loud enough in their Complaints of *Omnia comesta à Belo* under Popery.

He who knows not that the Revenue of the King now depends in a manner solely upon Trade, and that Trade depends on populousness, and that the encouragement of people to live under any Government, is that great thing, call'd Property in their Estates, Religion, and Laws, and that therefore any thing that calls it self Religion, that goes to exterminate above a hundred and fifty persons for every one it leaves (for so the Proportion between Non-Papists and Papists by the Bishops survey made about the Year 1676, was return'd to be) and to call them Hereticks, and which makes their Goods and life *ipso facto* a forfeit of the Law, will not *ipso facto* exterminate Trade, is fitter for the Gallies or a Trading Voyage to the *Anticyræ*, then for any discourse of Trade and Commerce.

Your Lordship hath in your Travels sufficiently seen it long since exemplified, that the Protestant Countries for the quantity of Ground exceed the Popish in Trade, and numbers of People, and that thus the Protestant *Hanse* Towns have eclipsed their Roman Catholick Neighbours; and Amsterdam, Antwerp, and the United Provinces, Flanders, and that in Flanders where the Ecclesiasticks are Proprietors of seven parts of ten of the whole Country, Levies of Men and Money for the defence thereof have been made, with so much slowness and difficulty, and been so inconsiderable as not to have secured themselves against Invaders.

Nor did the Ecclesiasticks there think it worth their while, to strain themselves in Contributions to resist an Invader who is of their own Religion (the which made the French Kings Victories there flie like Lightning) more then our over-rich English Regulars did to oppose William the Conqueror, when he came here under the Popes Banner. And thus were they here, and in Flanders are like Wrens in the Body which draw to themselves much nourishment and are of great trouble and no use, and thus ridiculous is it that so over great a part of the property of the Land, should be linked to persons, who are no way linked to the interest of the Country, more then professed Gamblers and Emphyries and Soldiers of Fortune, and are no more damnified by Popish Invaders, then Fishes of the Sea are by Earth-Quakes.

But on the other hand in the United-Provinces, how easily and soon are vast Taxes raised when their All is at Stake, & to what a prodigious encrease of the numbers of their People have they attain'd since the Reformation, inso much that the Author of a Political discourse of the Interest of Holland Printed in Dutch in the Year 1669, and Licensed by John de Witt and by Van Beaumont, makes the People in the Province of Holland to be 2 Millions and 400 thousand, and so likewise doth Pellerus in his Learned Notes on

Klockius

Klockius de Erario p. 300. and there cites that Book of the interest of *Holland*, when as *Gerard Malynes* in his *Lex mercatoria* makes the People in *Flanders* in the Year 1622 to have consisted of a hundred and forty thousand Families, and he reckoning each of them one with an other at 5 persons, makes the Total of the people in *Flanders* to have then amounted but to seven hundred thousand Souls.

And yet as that Author of the interest of *Holland* saith, the Province of *Holland* can hardly make 400 thousand profitable Acres or *Morgens* of Land, Down and Heath not put in, and that the 8th part of the Inhabitants of *Holland* cannot be nourished with what is growing there: but tells us what prodigious Granaries they there have, and that *Amsterdam* that in the Year 1571 was about 200 *Morgens* or Acres of Land, was in the year 1650 enlarged to 600 *Morgens* or Acres of Land in Circumference, and to have in it three hundred thousand Souls.

And the defence of the *Zelanders* Choice Printed in the Year 1673, mentions *Aitsmas Liere* to have reckon'd the publick Incomes of *Holland* alone in the Year 1643, to have amounted to 1100 thousand pound Sterling; and the Author of the Interest of *Holland* saith, that in one Year in a time of Peace, viz. In the Year 1664 the Inhabitants of *Holland* did over and above the Customes and other Domains of the Earls or States of *Holland* pay towards the publick Charge as follows, viz.

To the States of *Holland* 11 Millions of *Gilders*.

To the Admiralty of the *Maze*, 472 898 *Gilders*.

To the Admiralty of *Amsterdam* 2 Millions of *Gilders*.

To the Admiralty of the Northern Quarter, 200 thousand *Guilders*.

Which comes to in all about 14 hundred, 87 thousand Pounds Sterling. How meanly do the Atchievements of *Venice*, and their Efforts to aggrandize their Republick, compared with *Hollands* shew in story, for the quantity of years many times doubled since the *Dutch* threw off the Yoke of the Papacy! History hath recorded the longevity of the *Venetian* Government as it has of *Methusalem* of whom we read, not of any great thing he said, or did, or attempted; but a few days of the short life of *Alexander*, in the Ballance of fame weighs down the 999 years of the other.

The very Religion of Popery makes the *Venetians* more narrow in their principles, and even in their Rules of Traffick then are the Inhabitants of Protestant Countries. The Popish Religion doth hamper its devout Professors as to Trading with Hereticks, and holding Communication with such as are *ipso jure* & *ipso facto* excommunicated, and giving any Quarentine to men said to be infected with Heresie, insomuch that we are told in *D' Ossat's* Letters, Part. 2d. That the Republick of *Venice* would not suffer the Ambassador of *Henry* the 4th to them thô a Catholick to be admitted to their Chappels with other Ambassadors, because they did not know his Master to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

And *Bodin de Rep.* says, That the number of the Inhabitants of *Venice* sand taken Anno 1555, and was then in all but one hundred and eighty thousand and four hundred and forty.

Sir William Temple in the 5th Chapter of his Observations on the United Provinces, makes one of the great Causes of the first Revolt in the Low-Countries to be the oppression of Mens Consciences, or Persecution in their Liberties, Estates, and Lives on the pretence of Religion; and it may be truly said that by their buying the truth at the Rate of such high Taxes as they now pay, and not selling it either to *France* or *Spain*, they have been no losers; for many good Artists and wealthy Fugitives have brought their Persons and Families and Estates to them for shelter, from the Storm of Papal Persecution

tion, and daily continue so to do; insomuch that the *Author of the Zelander's Choice* in Sect. 3. Observes that of late years some of the Wise Men of the Reformed Religion in France, being fearful of its being there utterly supplanted, have required their Children by their last Wills and Testaments to leave France and settle themselves in the United Provinces: and in so doing, they bestowed rich Legacies on *Holland*, each head of any new comer being judged to add at a Medium 3 l. per year to the riches of the State.

The late great late accession of Protestant strangers to *Amsterdam*, hath caused many new houses to be there built, and hath raised the Rents of the old ones a 5th part, whereas they are sunk a 4th in *Cheapside* in *London*.

'Tis there that Men of every Nation under Heaven, *Parthians*, and *Arabians*, *Jews*, *Papists*, *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and the *Christians* of the Subdivisions of all Sects do bear Men speak in their own Language, and what they think most Musical to them, the wonderful works of God.

Nor are the Enemies to Monarchy to ascribe the flourishing State of *Holland*, to its former throwing the Power of the State-holder, and Captain General out of the Ballance of their Government. Their breaking down the Banks of his Authority, introduced the sudden inundation of the French Power among them, that they had else been more secured against then the Assaults of the *Ocean*, and not have so perfectly forgot the Art and Nature of Defensive War in their Frontiers: and tho' it may seem plausible that an Animal, supposed to have most heads, will have most brains, and that Republicks are more apprehensive of their true interest then other Governments, yet to the Reproach of such Politicks it appear'd, that when the Regnant Faction in *Holland* were no more headed by a Captain General or State-holder, and had thrown the poise of his Power out of the Scales, they grew so vain, as tho' they had no Capital Ships, yet to become aggressors in a Naval War against *England*, that had Ships enow of that kind to affright the World, and of which War the Result was the abolishing their great Navigation to *England*, from whence their forced frequenting of our Harbours, still occasions their exporting more of our Commodities then we import of theirs. But this by the way.

However so vast yet is their Navigation, and the number of their Mariners that tho' we need them not for our Carriers, both *Spain* and *France* do: and to which Kingdoms they have and probably will for some Ages to come, have the honour and profit to be Carriers, how much soever *France* is or seems to be fear'd by us: and thus that *Book of the Interest of Holland* tells us, viz. That the French have very few Ships and Marriners of their own, so that almost all their Traffick for *Holland* (some few English Ships of Trade excepted) is driven by Dutch Ships, and that when any Goods are transported from one French Haven to another, they are laden on Board Dutch Vessels, and that as to *Spain*, that it hath so few Marriners and Ships that since the Peace between them and *Holland*, they have used to hire Dutch Ships to sail to the Indies.

And therefore when I consider what that ingenious Author hath thus discoursed, and that Sir *W. P.* in a Manuscript discourse in the Year 1671, hath Calculated the number of the Total of the Seamen, who are Subjects of *France* to be 15000, and that a great and fatal diminution of the number of them since happen'd in the Year 1678, by so many of their then perishing under *D'Estre* in the *West-Indies*, and that as the Author of *Britannia languens* saith, The Dutch have at least 10 times as many Seamen as the English, I shall venture to conclude that more then all the Millions of Mankind now living will be dissolved to Ashes before (humanly speaking)

ing) it will be possible for *France* to over-balance either the *Dutch* or *English* at Sea, and whoever they are that pretend to fear the Contrary, I think they do but pretend to fear it.

But at once to return to the consideration of the gain *Holland* hath from fresh *Advent*, and to take my leave of it, all old Trades being there fully improved, such new comers are forced to dig up a new Soile of Trade and Industry, as I may call it, for their subsistence; and thus at the Charge of their Experiments the Country is enriched: and many new Artists there bring with them their old experimented Arts, and thus 'tis known that an *English-man* from *Larmouth* coming to be an Inhabitant among them, taught them the rich *Arcanum* of the Fishing Trade: and since they disused to pray to dead *Saints* in the way of Popery, they have found living *Saints* praying to them to be admitted to live with them, and have not only had the honour to entertain *Saints*, but by being not forgetful to entertain *Strangers*, they have unawares entertain'd *Angels* (as the Scripture expression is) and such who have proved tutelar ones to their Country and Religion.

No marvel therefore if the Learned *Divine*, the Author of the *Defence of the Zelanders Choice*, doth there so pathetically pronounce his opinion, that if ever the Protestant Religion shall leave *Holland*, that Country may be called *Ichabod*, i. e. the Glory is departed from it.

And here I should be injurious to the Political *Energy* of the Reformation in *England*, if I should not observe how vastly it has contributed to the encrease of the value of our Land, and the number of the people and the extent of our Commerce, and indeed of Commerce it self.

It was not long before the Reformation that the Kings and People of *England*, maintained themselves chiefly by *Sheperdry*, and the Kings and people of *France* by *Tillage*, and their great improvement in Manufacture, bears Date but from *Harry* the 4ths time. The great Scene of *Merchandizing* was not open'd in *Europe* till about 6, or 7 hundred years ago, and till then none were there worthy the names of Merchants except some few in the Republicks of *Italy*, who lived in the Mediterranean parts trading with the *Indian* Caravans in the *Levant*, or driving some inland Trade, and then and some hundreds of years afterward, the Nations in the worst Soil of *Europe* being the greatest breeders, and having superfluity of nothing but people, had no invention for living but by being Murderers, and by the boysterous Trade of Fighting their way into better Quarters: and during that dark and Iron Age that produced Herds of Men void of knowledge, there was nothing in humane Conversation or discourse valuable; and in our *European* World it was scarce worth Men a few steps to gain one anothers acquaintance: but on the gradual encrease of knowledge there, Men found a readier way at once with delight and profit to exchange Notions and Commodities of Traffick, and the Protestant Religion at last drawing up the Curtain that kept all things obscure on that Stage of the World, Men being better taught the knowledge of the God of Nature and of Nature it self, were grown worth one anothers knowledge, and were for the surprizing brightness of their intellectual Talents gazed on by the wondring World, like in *Machines*, Gods coming down out of Clouds, and it was worthy of the bounty of Heaven, then to spread on the Earth the Commerce of Men and the Medium of Commerce too, and to allow them to converse together with more splendor by the Donative of the *American Mines* when the dawn of the knowledge a little before that of the Reformation had rendered them conversable Creatures, and fit for the interviews of one another: and shortly afterwards by a mighty encrease of Navigation, many did pass to and fro, and knowledge was more and more encreased.

Thus

Thus as I have some where read of a saying of one of the *Fathers*, *Deus ambit nos donis & forma sua*, the Divine Goodness provided that the World should *Esouse* the beauty of the Reformation with a great Dowry, and that it should appear particularly in *England* with the great Figure that *Wisdom* makes in the *Proverbs*, *Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.*

And the truth is conspicuous in our *English* History that former intervals of some Efforts of Trade, and of some, of withstanding the Papal Encroachments were alway contemporary, and liv'd and dy'd together, and they were no sooner risen out of the Grave where the barbarity of former times depressed them, but they were again found in one anothers Embraces.

That the Stock and Wealth of the Kingdom, is vastly encreased since *Harry* the 8ths time, is visible to any one who considers what *Stow* saith in his *Annals* on the Year 1523, the 15th Year of his Reign, *That when in a Parliament held at Black-Fryers, and where Sir Thomas More was Speaker, 800000 l. was required to be raised of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, that is 4s. of every Pound to be paid in 4 years: but it was denyed, and it was proved manifestly that if the fifth part of the substance of the Realm were but 800000 l., and if Men should pay to the King the fifth part of their Goods in Money or Plate, that there was not so much Money out of the Kings hands in all the Realm: for the fifth part of every Mans Goods is not in Money or Plate, &c. And then consequently if all the Money were brought to the Kings hands, then Men must barter Cloath for Viſtuals, &c. And there it was further Argued that the King had by way of Loan 2 s. in the Pound (which is 400000 l.) and if he had 4 s. more in the Pound, 'twould amount to 1200000 l., which is almost the 3^d part of every Mans Goods, which in Coyn cannot be had within the Realm.*

That the Merchandizing Trade of *England* was before the Reformation, and sometime after managed chiefly by Forraigners, we Learn out of *Heylin's* *Edward* the 6th, p. 108, where he saith that *Edward* the 6th, *Suppress* the Corporation of Merchant Strangers, the Merchants of the Stilyard, concerning which we are to know that the English in the times foregoing being neither strong in Shipping, nor much accustomed to the Sea, received all such Commodities as were not of the growth of their own Country from the hands of Strangers, resorting hither from all parts to upbraid our laziness, namely Merchants known by the name of Easterlings, who brought hither Wheat and Rye and Grain, &c. for their encouragement wherein they were amply privileged and exempted from many impositions.

I shall here deduce a proof of the growth of the Revenue of the Nation, from the growth of that of the Church, and to prove that the Revenue of the Church & Nation of *England* were in the year 1660 about Quintuple, to what they were at the time of the Reformation, I shall say first that *Godwin* in his Catalogue of *Bishops*, makes the Revenue of the Arch-Bishops and Bishops to be valued at the time of the Reformation near 22000 l. per Annum, and if we admit the Revenue of the Deans and Chapters, to be double the Sum, viz. 44000 l. then will the whole Revenue of the Hierarchy appear to have been then 66000 l. per Annum.

But *Dr. Cornelius Burges*, a Man vers'd in the speculative and practick part of Sacriledge, doth in his Book concerning Sacriledge call'd *Two Replies*, and Printed Anno 1660, affirm that the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters Lands, were at the end of the late Civil War sold for two Million three hundred thousand pounds, and he saith, there was offer'd since his Majesties Restoration seven hundred thousand pounds more to confirm that Sale: whereby the value of the said Land is made to be in the year 1660, 3 Millions.

And

And Mr. Prynne in his Printed *Speech* in the House of Commons on Monday the 4th of December 1648. touching the *satisfactoriness* of the *Kings* Answers to the Propositions of both Houses, doth in Page 68 there affirm, That near one half of the Arch-Bishops and Bishops Possessions and Revenues consists in Improvements, Tithes, Pensions, and the like; and if we may suppose the like as to the Revenues of the Deans and Chapters, then according to that Estimate will the value of the whole Revenue of the Hierarchy of our Church be about 6 Millions, the twentieth part whereof, viz. at twenty years Purchase is 300,000 *l. per Annum*, and the 12th part of the same, viz. at 12 years purchase is 500,000 *l. per Annum*, so that what at the time of the Reformation was worth but 66000 *l. per Annum*, was in the Year 1660 worth between 300, and 500000 *l.* as aforesaid.

In the next place I shall prove the Remainder of my Position that the Revenue of the whole Nation is about *Quintupled* also; for that the Revenue of the demolished Monasteries was, as my Lord Herbert in his *Harry* the 8th, makes it 1 hundred 61 thousand pound *per Annum*, and the Revenue of the whole Church about *Triple* to that Sum, viz. About 450000 *l. per Annum*, and the Revenue of the whole Nation between *triple* and *quadruple* to the Revenue of the Church, viz. one Million 6 Hundred Thousand Pound *per Annum*: but careful Calculators in these times have computed the same to be about 8 Millions *per Annum*, which is quintuple to the said 1 Million 6 Hundred Thousand Pound above mentioned.

And as to the proportion of the Trade and Traffick of *England* encreasing since the Reformation, little more need be added to what I have before discoursed then that the Customes, which when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, made but 36000 *l. per Annum*, were since 1660, farm'd at 4 hundred thousand Pound *per Annum*, and have since that time made about double that Sum. And because She foresaw that that Branch of the Revenue would both support the Crown and the Walls of the Kingdom, I mean its Ships and Sea-men, she wisely provided for the encrease of the Customs and Navigation in her own and future times by the *Planting* of *Virginia*, and was the Foundress of our Trade in the *American* Plantations, that is at this day so beneficial to the King and Kingdom, and where no Forraigners can Trade without his Majesties leave (and therefore the Freight both outwards and homewards is restrain'd to our own Shipping) and where the Scene of entercourse is agreeable to the Genius of so many of our Protestant Traders of *England*, and not troubling them with the sight of the Religion, or with the Study of the Language of *Popish* Countries. And as in any great important undertakings, the first projectors or undertakers do usually but lay the Foundation of Gain for the next comers, thus too did providence order it to be in the Case of the *Spanish* Acquests of *America*, which were so fatal to the diminution of the strength of *Spain*, and fortunate to the encrease of that of *England*.

And it was by the means of the advancement of the Protestant Religion that she was so prosperous in her mighty Attempts of advancing Trade and Navigation. 'Tis notorious how by making her Realm an *Asylum* to Forraign oppressed Protestants, She enriched it with the Manufactures they introduced, in her great Towns and Cities, and where the value of House-Rent being by that means raised, the Manufacturers were enforced to work harder, and the encreasing of their corporal hard labour did tend to the encrease of their Generations and Populacy as it did among the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, and it had a greater tending to that effect, in regard that our People in their Towns were their own *Task-masters*, and could console themselves with the thoughts not of going but being gone out

of *Egypt*, and they were rendred the more industrious by the knowing that they were secure from having the fruit of their labours swept away from themselves and their Children by Arbitrary Confessors and Priests, a thing that was practised by those who formerly made *England* in effect but a *Province* to *Rome*, and when more Money was exported hence by Appeals and Applications to the *Court* of *Rome* then is here imported from *Ireland*, and when as in *Turky* men are discouraged from enriching themselves thorough industry and improvement by the Grand *Signiors* being the general Heir, our Fore-fathers too were by the Popes being so much here in the same capacity. In fine, the value of the Benefices of the Divines in those great Towns, being partly encreas'd by the growing Numbers of the People and their riches, and partly by their liberal contributions did invite thither such men of Learning to the Pastorage of Souls, as did by their fame invite more inhabitants, and did keep up those Towns by the Cement of Religion in such a state, that they were Seminaries of Knowledge to the Adjacent Countries, and even Magazines of War for the Princes occasions, as well as Store-houses of Manufacture to be exported: and for this purpose Arch-Bishop *Grindal* in his Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno Domini 1580, Printed in *Fullers Church History* speaking of able Ministers, being placed in all Parishes, and of the benefit thereof redounding to Princes by their Subjects obedience to them, saith, *No Prince ever had more lively experience hereof, then your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily: and if your Majesty comes to the City of London never so often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is there to be seen: yea, what Acclamations and Prayers to God for your long Life and other manifest significations are there to be heard of inward and unfeigned love with most humble and hearty obedience? whereof cometh this, Madam, but of the continual Preaching of Gods word in that City, whereby the people hath been plentifully instructed in their Duty toward God and your Majesty? On the contrary, what bred the Rebellion in the North? was it not Papistry and Ignorance of Gods word through want of often Preaching in the time of the Rebellion? Were not all Men of all States that make profession of the Gospel most ready to offer their lives for your defence, insomuch that one Parish of Yorkshire which by continual Preaching hath been better instructed then the rest, Halifax I mean, was ready to bring 3 or 4000 able Men into the Field to serve you against the said Rebels, &c.*

As I before observed, That the Reformation brought us at the first step, out of a blind Chaos into a Paradise of knowledge, so I may add that at the next it conducted us to that blessing of Paradise, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the Fish of the Sea.* No sooner had the Reformation under that Great Queen cleared the heads of her Subjects, but it enlarged their hearts, and substituted in Men a new brave and generous spirit, in lieu of that dull and formal and lethargic one that possessed them under the Captivity of their blind Guides, and they accounted their *All* and even the Worlds, too little for their Prince, and they made her Exchequer as spacious as her Kingdom, and the *English* Commerce as wide as the World. Navigation and Navigators were her Favourites, and her great States-man *Walsingham* by her Command animated *Frobisher* to attempt the discovery of a nearer passage to *Cathay* and *China*, without going so far about as by the *Cape of good hope*, and he gave not over that design till after three Voyages, and the death of *Walsingham*: and the success of her Politics and of the Reformation, have in despite of all the power of *Rome* and *Spain* terminated in such a multiplying of the Subjects of the Realm of *England*, as probably renders them more numerous then the people of the Kingdom of *Spain*, which

which *Heylin* in his *Geography* makes to have only Eight Millions of Souls.

But there scarce needs any other *Medium* whereby to evince that the Progress of the *Reformation* hath vastly encreased the value of our Land and proportion of our Commerce, then that it hath so vastly encreased the number of our People, a *Fact* that I have already proved, and have shewn what *Depopulators* or dispeoplers of the Kingdom the Monks were, and have made some Calculations of the numbers of the Religious Persons living in *Celibate*, and the effects thereof in restraining formerly the growth of the Numbers of the People: but do find that I was extremely short in assigning the number of those whom Popery made to live in *Celibate* to be but 120000. I was glad to gain a rise for somewhat like an Estimate of the numbers of all the Religious persons in Monasteries by finding it in *Weavers* Monuments that the Religious Persons put out of the Religious Houses, under the yearly value of 200*l.* were above 10000: and that therein *Weaver* agrees with *Sanders de Schismate*, &c. but I made no Estimate of the numbers of *Friers* Mendicant the which were very great, and I was too short on the accounting that there were perhaps no more Secular Priests then Benefices in *England*: for tho the Rule of the *Canon Law* allows not Orders to be given to Men without a Title, yet it admits an exception in the Case of Men who can live on their own patrimony, and it still took the Title to be a Curate as current Coyn for one to a living: and moreover the livelihoods that many unbenedicted Secular Priests acquired by saying particular Masses, did pass for *Titles*, and thus in *France* it being conceived that the Secular Priests unbenedicted are about 6 times as many as the beneficiaries, we may thence guess what the proportions of their numbers were in *England*.

But yet further to discourse of the growth of the numbers of the people of *England* before and since the *Reformation*, I shall acquaint your Lordship that you may easily find among the Records of the *Exchequer*, what the number of the people of *England* was in the Year 1522, when *Harry the 8th* (as I cited it out of my Lord *Herberts* History p. 121,) *Caused Warrants to be Issued out, Commanding the Certificates of the number of all above 16 years old to be returned*, and by an Index or Repertory of the Matters of State in the *Exchequer* that I have, I can readily direct the finding it out there: and moreover by the accounts of the *Pole Acts* in former times, a considerable indication of the numbers of the people in those days may be had.

And if we may guess at the encrease of the people of *England* from that of *London*, I can easily satisfy any person about the prodigious growth of that City in numbers of people, and consequently in wealth since the abandoning of the Papacy.

I have by me an account of the proportions of the Shires of *England* & City of *London*, in a Tax of 50000 *l.* long since in *Edward the 3ds* time, and in which *Surry* bore the same proportion with *London*, and in which *London* and *Surry* and *Middlesex* paid but about 1500 *l.* which was but about a 16th part.

And in *Harry the 8ths* time, it hapned that Cardinal *Pool* excited divers Princes of Christendom to invade *England*, & a fit man he was who had been then a Traytor to come here and absolve Hereticks: but *Hollinghead* in his *Chronicle* of *Harry the 8th*, p. 947 tells us, *That the King having heard of the Treasonable practices of the Cardinal, did Anno 1539, make a Survey of his Naval Strength, and did ride to the Sea-Coasts: and that Sir William Foreman Knight, then Major of London, was commanded to certifye the names of all the Men within the City and liberties thereof, between the age of 16 and 60, whereupon the said Mayor and his Brethren each one in his Ward, by the Oath of the Common-Council and Constable, took the number of Men, Arms, and Weapons:*

Weapons: and after well considering of the matter by view of their Books, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men; and therefore assembling themselves again, they chose forth the most able persons and put by the residue, especially such as had no Armour. But when they were credibly advertised by Thomas Cromwel Lord Privy-Seal (to whom the City was greatly beholden) that the King himself would see the People of the City Muster in a convenient number, and not to set forth all their power, but to leave some at home to keep the City, &c. then he saith, the number beside the Whiffers, and other Waiters was 15000.

But the *Observer* on the *Bills of Mortality*, hath in his last Observations on that Subject told us, That there are in London about 6 hundred and 70000 Souls: and tho I know that some Parishes are included within the Bills of Mortality for the said City that formerly were not, yet the said *Observer* having told us that there are in London more Males then Females, and it being true that there are as many above the Age of sixteen as are under it, and that the *Sexagenarii* are but a 6th part of Mankind, and the Quota of the numbers resulting from the Parishes added, being likewise shewn us by that *Observer*, let any one judge how vast the number of able Men certifiable between 16 and 60, is grown to be since that year of *Harry* the 8th before mentioned.

It must be acknowledged that the thanks of the Age are due to the *Observer* on the Bills of Mortality, for those solid and rational Calculations he hath brought to light, relating to the numbers of our people: but such is the modesty of that excellent Author, that I have often heard him wish that a thing of so great publick importance to be certainly known, might be so by an actual numbring of them, and the truth is, it is much to be pittied that by the care of Magistrates, an exact number of the people as well of London, as of all other places in the Realm, hath not with diligence been made and preserved, the knowledge whereof is the *Substratum* of all political measures that can be taken as to a Nations strength or riches, and the part thereof that is *spareable* for Colonies, and the value of the branches of the publick Revenue, and the equality in proportioning any Taxes or Levies by Act of Parliament, and the satisfying the World about the value of our Alliances, a thing one would think somewhat necessary when 'tis published in Print that a Forraign Minister, who hath spent much time here and is deservedly famous for being a Critical Judge in the Politicks, and in many sorts of Learning, makes the people of England to be but two Millions, and when a late famous French Author of *la Politique Francoise*, who sets up with his Goose-quill to be a Governor of the World, reproacheth us after his manner with the fewness of our people, and saith, *How insolent soever the English are, they must confess that all the Brittish Islands laid together, do not equal the half of our Continent, either in extent, &c. or number of Men, in Wealth, in Valour, Industry and Understanding.*

Mr. James Howel in his *Londinopolis* Printed Anno 1657 saith, That in the Year 1636, King Charles sending to the Lord Major of London to make a Scrutiny of what Roman Catholicks there were in London, he took occasion thereby to make a Cense of all the people, and that there were of Men, Women, and Children, above 7 hundred thousand that lived within the Barrs of his Jurisdiction alone: and this being 21 years ago, 'tis thought by all probable computation that London hath more now by a third part then it had then.

In his *Parallel* of London there with other great Cities in the World, he observes that the weekly Bills of Mortality in Amsterdam, come but to about 60 a week, whence saith he, *It may be inferr'd that London is about 5 times as populous, more dying in a week commonly in London then 300.*

And

And as to the quantity of the people in *London*, there is no doubt to be made but that if in the year 1636, there lived 700,000 *within the Barrs of the Lord Majors Jurisdiction*, there lived then so many more in the other Parishes within the Bills of Mortality, and that there live in this year within the Bills of Mortality, more then double the number that did in the year 1636; and at that Rate their number would now amount to near two Millions.

But I am to suspect that there was no such return of any *Cense* of the people *within the Barrs of the Lords Majors Jurisdiction in the year 1636* as is before mentioned, and do suppose that Mr. *Howel* did in that point mistake, partly for that I think him mistaken in his Allegation before as to the people of *Paris* being returned as above a *Million* of Souls at the last *Cense* made there, and do as to their number give more credit to the *Bishop of Rhodes*, who in his History of *Harry the 4th*, written since the year 1660, saith in part 2d, *That there were in Paris when 'twas block'd up only 200000 persons, and that there were then retired thence 100000 of the Inhabitants, so that in those times there were no more then 300,000 Souls in Paris, whereas 'tis now believed there are twice as many*, and partly because I find it mentioned by the curious *Observer* on the *Bills of Mortality*, p. 113, and 114. That Anno 1631, Ann. 7. *Caroli 1. The number of Men, Women and Children in the several Wards of London, and Liberties, taken in August, 1631. by Special Command of the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, came in all but to 130178*, and finally because the said curious *Observer* (for that name I give that Author after my Lord Chief Justice *Hales* hath given or adjudged it to him in his *Origination of Mankind*) having by rational Calculations proved, that their dyes within the Bills of Mortality a *thirtieth part* or one in thirty yearly, and that there dyes ordinarily there 22000 *per Annum*, that if there were there according to *Howel* a Million and an half of people, it would follow that there must dye but 1 out of 70 *per Annum*, and that they must live one with another 70 years.

There is an ingenious Author and that is the Author of the present State of *England*, who tells us in his 2d part, *That in 1588, there went forth from the Queen Commissions to Muster in all parts of England, all Men that were of perfect Sence and Limbs, from the Age of 16 to 60, except Noblemen, Clergymen, University, Students, Lawyers, Officers, and such as had any publick charges, leaving only in every Parish so many Husbandmen as were sufficient to Till the Ground. In all those Musters there were then numbred three Millions: but of those fit for War about 600,000.*

I would scarce desire better Evidence for an Opinion that the people of *England* were in all 12 Millions, then that 3 Millions of Males between 16 and 60 were then returned; for the said *Observer* having by Calculation assured us, that there are about as many Females as Males, and about as many people under the Age of 16 as are above it, the said opinion would stand firm and unshaken.

There is too another Author who much enlargeth the number of the people of *England*, and that is *Gerard Matynes* in his *Lex Mercatoria* first Printed in the year 1622, and there in Cap. 46. he makes them to be 16 Millions, and 800,000: but any one will hardly take his word for it, who considers that he there makes the people of *Scotland* to be 9 Millions, who are but about one Million, and reckons 5500 Parishes in *Ireland*, where there were never more then 2 thousand & hundred Parishes.

But 'tis the fate of Nations to have their numbers sometimes inconsiderately Assigned by considerable Authors, and thus it happened particularly to *France* from an error of *Campanella* who in his discourse of the *Spanish Monarchy*,

by, C. 24. saith that *France hath in it 27000 Parishes, and 100 and 50 Millions of Souls.*

At this rate there would be in the Parishes in *France* one with another 555 Souls, whereas Sir *W. P.* in a Manuscript discourse of his, saith, *That a substantial Author in his Treatise concerning France, sets it down as an extraordinary Case if a Parish in France hath in it 600 Souls.*

We have too an Author of great Vogue for the Politicks, Sir *Robert Cotton* who in his *Abstract of the Records of the Tower, touching the Kings Revenue* hath these words, viz. *That London (which is not the 24th part in people of the Kingdom) had in it found above 800,000, by a late enquiry by the Order of the late Queen, meaning Queen Elizabeth.*

But so far have we been from enabling our Political Writers to satisfy themselves in the Numbers of our People, that we have not done it yet as to the very Numbers of Parishes, wherein *Blunt* tells us in his *Law Lexicon* that our Authors differ; and we generally reckon them as they were before many new ones have been built.

One late writer has accounted the Parishes in *England* and *Wales* to be 10260: and Mr. *Adams* says in his *Villare Anglicum* p. 408. *That he is of opinion that there are about 1500 Parishes in England and Wales not valued in the Kings Books, and of which he can get no account so as to make the same perfect, and 'twill be difficult for him to do it, unless the several persons concern'd in the particulars give an account of it.*

Cambden in his *Britannia* Printed Anno 1607, when he reckons the Parish Churches in the Bishoprick of *Durham* and in *Northumberland* to be 118, adds *præter sacella plurima*: and saith in *Yorkshire*, *Parishes besides Chappels, and Parishes to which many Chappels are subject that are equal to great Parishes, &c.*

Moreover the Grants from the Crown of *Extraparochial* Titles in several Counties, may serve for an indication of great numbers of people that are not Inhabitant in Parishes, and so likewise may the Multitudes of those people who live in *Forrests*, and which places are generally accounted by the Law to be *Extraparochial*.

The Number of Parsonages and Vicarages in *Edward* the 1sts valuation, whereof there is a Manuscript Copy in the *Bodleian Library* was about 8900, and into that number the Chappels are not accounted; but of the Chappels many since have grown up into Parsonages: and this would likewise induce one to think the number of our Parishes at this time to be greater then the common Estimate, especially when according to the Kings Books which respect the valuation in *Harry* the 8ths time, the number of them is considerably above 9000.

But what may seem more strange is that some men of Thought and Learning have attempted even by Calculation, to prove that the people of *England* have for a very long space of time decreased in their numbers, and particularly the Author of a Book in Quarto called, *An account of the French Usurpation on the Trade of England, and the great damage the English yearly sustain by their Commerce*, Printed in the Year 1679, and Writ with excellence of Calculation in some parts thereof: and yet that Author doth p. 16 say, *And I can easily believe that 1000 years since, this Nation had a much greater stock of people then now it hath, for the Rome-Scot, or Peter-pence which was but one Renny a Chimney (granted by Offa and Ina Saxon Kings to the Pope) did amount to 50000 yearly: and the Hearth-money, which is two Shillings the Hearth (and one Stack of Chimneys may have many Hearths) doth not amount to 300,000 l. yearly; whereas if the number of Chimneys charged with the Rome-Scot had been two Shillings a Chimney, it would have*
amounted

amounted to 1,200,000 l. yearly. So that we may conclude there were then more Buildings and Chimneys, and so by consequence more people.

But had that Author considered that the *Romescot* or *denarius sancti Petri* was only an annual Penny from every Family or Household, and that it amounted to 300 Marks and a Noble yearly, as *Blunt* says, by that reckoning it would have appeared that there were not then in all England 50000 Families liable to that Duty, whereas there are now above a Million of such Families: so that now the people and Families of England are twenty times as many as they were then, which agrees pretty well with my Lord Chief Justice *Hales's* reckoning.

That great person in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, yields that the people of England are at least 6 Millions, and doth too in Page 205, say, That he doth not know any thing rendred clearer to the view, then the gradual encrease of Mankind by the curious and strict Observations on the Bills of Mortality: and doth very elaborately make a comparison between the numbers of the people in Gloucestershire, and particularly some great Towns and Burroughs there, as *Thornbury* and *Tedbury* as they were at the time of the making up of *Domesday Book* and as they now are, and shews, That there are very many more Villages and Hamlets now then there were then, and few Villages or Towns or Parishes then which continue not to this day, and that the number of Inhabitants now is above 20 times more through the general extent of the County then at that time: and afterward saith, if we should institute a later Comparison, viz. between the present time and the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, which is not above 112 years since, and compare the number of Trained Soldiers then and now, the number of Subsidy men then and now, they will easily give us an account of a very great encrease and multiplication of people within this Kingdom even to admiration.

It would be no difficult thing to fortifie the observation of the great gradual encrease of the people, and particularly of those in the Parishes of Gloucestershire, by the shewing the encrease of their worth and riches in the several publick Valuations, and their present real value, from whence their growth in the numbers of their Inhabitants may be well infer'd; as for example in *Edward* the 1sts Valuation, *Tedbury* is valued, *Ecclesia de Tedbury* 36. m. i. e. Marks, and in *Harry* the 8ths Valuation, is valued at 36 l. 13s 2d, and is now worth about 100 l. per Annum. *Thornbury* in *Edward* the 1sts valuation is valued at 47 Marks and a half, and in *Harry* the 8ths to 32 l. 14s. 8d. and is now worth about 120 l. per Annum. *Berkley* in *Edward* the 1sts Valuation comes to 36 Marks and a half, and in *Harry* the 8ths to 32 l. 14s. 8d. and is now worth about 100 l. per Annum.

I have instanced in these places, as referred to by *Hales*, and shall here as to *Gloster* only further observe, that there are more places in the *Decanatus Glocestriae* in *Harry* the 8ths valuation, then were in *Edward* the 1sts: as for instance, *Edward* the 1sts Valuation doth in the rural Deanry of Gloucester comprize 6 Churches and a Chappel, but *Harry* the 8th doth in the Deanery contain above 20 Churches and a Chappel.

I shall here corroborate his Lordships remark of the encrease of Families in another Town in Gloucestershire, which he calls *Dursflege*, and which is in *Edward* the 1sts Valuation called *Dursly*, and valued as a rectory there at 10 Marks per Annum, and in *Harry* the 8ths as a Rectory at 10 l. 14s. 3d. and is now let for 72 l. yearly.

I have observ'd a suitable difference between the former valuations of other Livings in that County and their present real values.

His Lordship having before justly acknowledged that it was a laborious piece of work to make a Calculation of the number of Inhabitants

at this day throughout England; did however in a way very worthy of his great judgment adapt his Estimate to the extent of one entire County; for had he gone less, and restrained it to this or that Parish, the gradual encrease of the People there, might have fallen short by particular accidents; and to this purpose we have it in Mr. Bentham's *Christian Conflict*, p. 322. that 11 Mannors in Northamptonshire have been enclosed with depopulation, and have vomited out their former desolate owners and their posterity.

Many ingenious persons have applyed their thoughts to several ways of Calculation whereby to discover the total of the number of the People in England, and in the Investigation thereof some concern'd in the management of the *Hearth-money* have reckon'd that in England and Wales the number of Hearths of rich and poor is 2 Millions and 6 hundred thousand, and that at a Medium there are between 4 and 5 persons to a *Hearth*, and accounting but 4 persons to a *Hearth*, they suppose that at that rate the people of England and Wales will appear to be 10 Millions.

The slowness of believing great things which is incident to Humane Nature, and my inclination to desire that any thing may be proved to me by ocular Demonstration, where the Subject Matter will bear it, do make me as to any of the greater forementioned Quotas of the People of England contended for by Calculators, to reserve my Judgment till some such accurate Survey hath been made thereof, as I have heard Sir W. P. that Mathematical States-man wish for.

But this I will venture to affirm, that by what may be observed out of the Returns on the late *Pole-Bills*, and the *Bishops* Survey, 'tis very highly probable that the Total of the number of the people here will upon any actual view hereafter to be made by publick Authority, appear very considerably greater then any cautious Calculators have made it.

Another account of the same great *Quæsitum* was sent me into the Country from a Gentleman of London, who acquainted me that he received the same from a very knowing and ingenious person whom the late Lord Treasurer, as great a Master of the Science of Numbers as perhaps ever any that Acted in that high Sphere of State, employed to effect an Impartial Return of the number of the people in London and in Middlesex, and every other County, both in England and Wales, and the Total resulting from them was as I cast up the same 8,272,062. But I judge that this account was not taken upon ocular View of the several Counties, but by way of Estimate not absolutely perfect, and by Calculation or comparing several former accounts together.

There is no doubt but the most satisfactory way that we can at present take for our Estimates, and whereby we may Trace the Numbers of the people from somewhat that looks like matter of Record is, as I hinted, from the Returns on the *Pole Bill* and the *Bishops* Survey.

And as to the *Poll-money* of Anno 1666, 2 hundred thirty seven thousand Pound was the gross Charge: and if on the consideration of Counties whereof the Charge was not returned, as Buckinghamshire, Durham, Northumberland, Kent, Oxon, North Wales, Brecon, Radnor, Glamorgan, Pembroke, (of which the proportions in numbers with the Counties return'd are not hard to be Calculated) and of the omissions perhaps through partiality whereby great numbers of persons chargeable were not returned, and withal on a supposal that there had been in the Act no qualifications and exceptions of many persons from being Charged, and particularly of persons under the Age of Sixteen, and of Paupers, &c. we may further venture to make the Total chargeable to be 600,000 l. and every one paying for his Head, there would then appear 20 times as many people, i. e. 12 Millions.

I know that out of such a Sum as 600,000 *l.* supposed chargeable, it will be obvious to consideration that what was paid by the *Nobility* and by *Titlers* and *Officers* must be subtracted: but when it shall be likewise considered that in that *Poll-money* that of the *Peers* paid into the Receipt, came to but 5693 *l.* 6s. 8 d. and that perhaps as much went beside the *Nert* of the Receipt under the notion of imaginary *Paupers*, and by persons not return'd; as came into it from the *Officers* and *Titlers*, and that the persons excepted under the *Age* of 16 were about a *Moiety* of the people, the supposition of 600,000 *l.* chargeable by way of *Capitation* will not seem so strange as at the first view.

The great difficulty of having the Total of the people chargeable by any *Poll-Bill* exactly and impartially return'd, appears in the Case of a *Poll-Tax* in *Holland*.

The Author of the *Interest of Holland* mentions that Anno 1622, The Tax of *Poll-money* was laid on all the *Inhabitants* of *Holland*, and none excepted but *Prisoners* and *Vagrants*, and those that were on the other side the *Line*, and all strangers, and that then there were found in *South Holland* no more then 481934 *Souls*, though yet the *Commissioners instructions* were strict for the making true returns, and the particular returns are thus Registered in the *Chamber of Accounts*, viz.

Dort with the Villages, 40523.
 Harlem with the Villages, 69648.
 Delft with the Villages, 41744.
 Leyden and Rynland, 94285.
 Amsterdam and the Villages, 115022.
 Goud with the Villages, 24662.
 Rotterdam with the Villages, 28339.
 Gornichem with the Villages, 7585.
 Schiedam with the Villages, 10393.
 Schoonhoven with the Villages, 10703.
 Briel with the Villages, 20156.
 The Hague, 17430.
 Heusden, 1444.
 In all 481934.

And supposing that *West Friesland* may yield the 4th part of the *Inhabitants* of *South Holland*, it would amount to 120483.

In all 602417.

The Author there delivers his opinion, That many evaded the being return'd on that *Poll*, and that the number return'd was very short and defective, but adheres to the account of them being now as is before mentioned, viz. 2 Millions 4 hundred thousand.

And this as it doth in some measure fortifie my foregoing notion of the prodigious growth of the people of *Holland* under the *Reformation*, so it doth likewise afford an instance of the partiality used in the returns of the numbers chargeable in *Poll-Money*.

But that which doth chiefly induce me to believe the Total of our numbers may very much exceed the sentiments of Cautious *Calculators* in this point, is the Result of the *Bishops Survey*, which was made for the Province of *Canterbury*, and wherein none under the age of *Communicants* or 16 were return'd, and but very few *Servants*, or *Sons*, and *Daughters*, or *Lodgers*, or *Inmates* of the people of several persuasions of Religion: and the

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thing endeavour'd was that the heads of Families or House-Keepers, i. e. Man and Wife might be truly return'd; and at that rate, the *Total* at the foot of the account for the Province of *Canterbury* is 2,228,386, the which according to the forementioned currant Rule of *Calculation* to be necessarily about doubled on the account of the people under 16, makes the *Total* of the *Souls* in that Province to be 4 Millions, 4 Hundred 56 thousand, 7 hundred seventy two; and the Province of *Tork* bearing a sixth part of the *Taxes*, and having therefore the 6th. part of the people that the Province of *Canterbury* hath, which is 742,795, that being added to those of *Canterbury*, makes 5 Millions, a hundred ninety nine thousand, five hundred sixty seven: and since 'tis apparent that not more persons were returned in that Survey then did really exist in Nature, and live within the Province as return'd, it will hereafter seem a very unnecessary thing and indeed absurd to question whether the people of *England* were not then at least 5,199,567.

But since it appears by the inspection of that Survey, that there was so vast a quantity of places that made no returns at all, some of which presently occur'd to my view in the Curfory reading and taking some few Notes thereof, and without my designing to make any Collection of all the places that made no returns, as for example, in the Arch-Deaconry of *Colchester*, 11 *Parishes* made no returns, and in the *Decanatus Tendring* twelve *Parishes*, in the *Decanatus Colcestre* seven *Parishes*, in the *Decanatus Lexden* ten *Parishes*, in *Decanatus Witham* eleven *Parishes*, in the Arch-Deaconry of *Middlesex* and *Decanatus Brangling* and *Harlow* fourteen *Parishes*, in the *Decanatus Dunmow* 7 *Parishes*, in the *Decanatus Henningham* 9 *Parishes*, in the *Decanatus of Middlesex* 16 *Parishes* (some of which were *St. Clements Danes*, *St. Mary le Bow*, *Uxbridge*) and in the Arch-Deaconry of *London* *St. Bartholomew Exchange*, are therein express'd to have made no returns; it may hence seem rational for any Man to suppose in general that the number of the People of *England* *revera* is very great beyond the said total of 5,199,567. and that it would have risen to a much greater number if exact returns had been made of all the heads of Families in *England* and *Wales*; and much more if all Persons in all Families above the Age of 16 had been return'd.

But yet according to the Returns that were *de facto* made in that Survey, I observ'd that in some, where the *totals* for Counties were cast up, that they doubled the *totals* of the People return'd for the same Counties, upon the Poll Act of 66. as for example, the Poll for *Devonshire* and *Cornwel* was fourteen thousand three hundred Pound; and the number return'd for those Counties by the *Bishops Survey* was two hundred and thirteen thousand, doubling which number for those under the Age of Communicants there, makes 426000 Souls there; so then the 14000 *l.* at 12 *d.* the Head makes there 280000 Shillings, or Persons at 12 *d.* a Head, to which as I shew'd the number in the *Bishops Survey* is double.

And further to shew the Omissions of great Numbers of People, returnable in that Survey, I shall acquaint your Lordship that in the year 1676. in the which the *Bishops Survey* was made, there dy'd within the *Bills of Mortality* 18730. and according to the rule of 1 in 30. there yearly dying, there will be suppos'd to have then liv'd there 533,170. and the total of the People return'd of all Persuasions of Religion above the Age of 16 in the whole *Diocefs* of *London* in the year 76. was 286,347. and the doubling of that number for those under the Age of 16 in that *Diocefs*, makes the total of the People there then to be 572,694. But here it is to be Considered that tho' the *Peculiars* of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury* in *London* were *de facto*

fatto return'd then within the Survey of the *Diocess* of *London*, yet the great and populous *Parishes* in *Southwark* and others in *Surry* within the District of the *Bills of Mortality*, were not return'd with any respect to the *Diocess* of *London*, but were in that Survey by the *Bishop of Winton* return'd as belonging to his Lordships *Diocess*; and that in a late year of ordinary health; viz. in *Anno* 1677. there dyed in the *Parishes* in *Surry*, that are within the *Bills of Mortality* 2803. and therefore according to the Rule of the 30th. part then dying there, it is to be judged that there then lived there; 81287. and therefore we being to Subtract that last mention'd Number out of the 533,170. then the number of all the Souls in the other Places in the *Bills of Mortality* will be 451,983. and so at that rate the number of all the Souls within the whole *Diocess* of *London*, will be but 120,711 more then those that were in the other Places within the *Bills of Mortality*, the which *Diocess* takes in all the other Places in *Middlesex* that are without the *Bills of Mortality*, and all *Essex*, and part of *Hartfordshire*. And to conclude this point, the omissions of Great Parts of the Numbers of the People, and particular of Sons, Daughters, Servants, being supposed to be in other places proportionable; I am hence induced to believe that on the occasion of any actual and exact Survey of the People of *England* to be made, their number will rise to a greater height then what it hath been advanced to by the most judicious Calculators.

And now if after all this, one should tell me that any vast encrease of the numbers of the People of *England* beyond the *quota* supposed by Cautious Calculators, is *incredible*, and to be added to the number of things *incredible*; I will answer him out of *Salust*, *Incredibile est memoratu, quantum adepta libertate, in brevi Romana Civitas creverit*; and will tell him, that 'tis almost incredible to relate how much we have gain'd by our abandoning *Popery* and its *Incredibility*, and the almost incredible as well as intolerable *Servitude*, that the *Papacy* so often oppress'd both our Kings and People with.

We are told by the *Observer* on the *Bills of Mortality*, that anxiety of mind hinders Breeding, and from sharp anxieties of divers kinds hath the Protestant Religion rescued *English* minds, and from their former daily *variness* for their daily Bread, and their fears of being Arbitrarily dispossest of it. What Princes (as I may say) are the *English* Infantry, and even the *Boors* of *Holland* to the *Peasants* of *France*, who with Chains on do propagate their *Species*, and *Servitude* it self? And what pity was it that *Commerce* which with its infant Smiles cheer'd our Isle in the Reign of *Edward* the 6th. was almost frighted away from it by the Frowns and Arbitrary Practices of *Queen Mary*; and that after that *Edward* the 6th. consulting the Advancement of our Trade had legally Suppressed the Corporation of Merchant-Strangers, and null'd their Monopoly; *Queen Mary* endeavour'd the Suppression of our Native Merchants, and that too by Illegal Impositions. It is not denyable that in the fourth year of her Reign she did lay an Impos't upon our Cloth: and one who had been a Judge of the Realm, and who had no spight to her Story mentioning it in his Book call'd, *The Rights of the People Concerning Impositions*, saith there, *This Religious Prince Inviron'd with infinite Troubles in the Church and Commonwealth, and Impoverish'd by her Devotion in Renouncing the Profits of the Church Lands that were in the Crown, was the first that made Digression from the steps of her worthy Progenitors, in putting on that imposition without assent of Parliament*: And the same Author in pag. 91. mentions another unjust Imposition of hers on *Gascoyne* Wines.

And her expulsion of the *Dutch Church* and their Pastors from *London*, and her Canselling of the *Legal Priviledges* that *Edward the 6th.* (for himself, his Heirs and Successors gave them, and other Strangers by his Letters Patents, was an Arbitrary blow given to the Trade of the Kingdom in general, and of that City in particulars; The Copy of her *Proclamation* for the Expelling them is Printed in *Fox*, in which they are stiled, a *Multitude of evil disposed Persons being Born out of her Highnesses Dominions in other sundry Nations, flying from the Obeysance of the Princes and Rulers, under whom they be Born, some for Heresie, some for Murther, Treason, Robbery;* and are there further represented as such, *whose secret practices have not fail'd to stir her Highnesses Subjects to a Rebellion against God and her Grace,* &c. But secret Traitors they were found by the Realm, and secret they were left by it. Two of them were *John a Lasco*, Uncle to the King of *Poland*, and *Peter Martyr*, that were thus sent out of the Realm with *Sanbenitos* on: and so far were our *Popish* Ancestors from Hospitality to Strangers, and thereby unawares entertaining Angels, that they made Devils of them, and as such used them: and to make amends to the multitude of Forraign Artists for the Gold they brought here, they had the Dirt of Shams thrown at them by a *Proclamation*.

And as if not only the Biting, but the very Barking of Mad Doggs had power to make others Mad, she grew so enraged by the Books of Heresie and Sedition, Printed in Forraign Parts and here Imported, that she Publish'd a *Proclamation* Printed likewise in *Fox*, wherein she Declared to all her Subjects that, *Whoever shall after the Proclaiming hereof be found to have any of the said Wicked and Seditious Books, or finding them do not forthwith Burn the same without shewing or reading the same, shall in that Case be Reputed and taken for a Rebel, and shall without delay be Executed for the Offence according to the order of Martial Law.*

But nothing can palliate the Arbitrariness of *Queen Mary's Proclamation*, for the Exercising of *Martial Law*, but that she thought her Reign a time of War, and perhaps not altogether Improperly; for that Hereticks have the Title of *Hoftes* given them by *Popish* Masters of Ceremonies.

There was another reason that induced *Queen Mary* to use the Arbitrary Power, that her *Popish Predecessors* did not, and that is this: *The People of England in the days of Popery were like to the three Fools in Lipsius, that being ty'd together by a twine Thread, went Whining about the House, and consenting that they who would unty the Knots of it, should have what Money from them they pleas'd:* And thus were our Foolish Ancestors innodated with *Papal Censures*, and the Priests did but Arbitrarily ask and have their rewards to Absolve them. But that *Queen* finding that the Reformation begun had proved Physick to Cure thole Idiots of their dull Stupidity, she therefore supposed that the Fools who before were held by the twine Thread, must then be bound to the good Behaviour with Chains.

In fine, by these three Important Acts of Arbitrary Power (the which presently occurred to my remembrance out of her Story, and without my troubling my self to rake for more) she gave the alarm to her Subjects newly after their Eyes had been opened, and their Hands unty'd by the Reign of *K. Edward*, that they were to expect no free Trading where there was no free Living, and to hear nothing but the dying Groans of Liberty and Religion. So very exact indeed is the Frame of our *English* Government, and of the *Soveraignes* Power and Peoples Liberty therein, that as in an *Arched Building*, if one Stone be removed from it, the whole is immediately endanger'd, and nothing could probably have saved it from ruin, but the Restoration of our Law as well as Gospel, by such a Reign as

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Queen *Elizabeths*, who was so far from the exercise of Arbitrary Power on her good Subjects and Friends, that she did it not on the worst, nor on her Enemies.

One would have thought that after the many attempts against her Life; and after the forementioned threatening Letter of *Campians*, which notifies that the *Jesuits* had entred into a Covenant or Association to Kill Heretical Princes, &c. that she might have been provoked to have declared that Order by a Proclamation to be *Hoftes*, a thing that she or any Protestant Crown'd Heads might do without Violating the Laws of Nations in reference to those Forraign Princes that were their Allies, and to whom any of that Order were Subjects: a thing not only Consonant to the *jus gentium*, but to our *Lex terræ* as it was resolv'd in *Cambden's Elizabeth*, by the Lord Chief Justice *Catelin*, who being ask'd, *Whither the Subjects of another Prince, Confederate with the Queen, might be held for the Queens Enemies?* Answer'd, *That they might, and that the Queen of England might make War with any Duke of France, and yet in the mean time hold Peace with the French King;* and a thing that if done, would have tended more to their Extermination out of this or any Country perhaps; then all other Laws against them; in regard that it would have more effectually bereav'd them of the benefit of Correspondence, Aids and Assistance from thence; all Subjects being every where by the Law rendred Traytors, who Correspond with, or give Aid and Assistance to declared Enemies.

Nor would the term of *Hoftes* bestow'd on such be more then a Retaliation; and to this purpose *Mariana* makes the people authoriz'd to Proclaime a King upon occasion, to be a *Publick Enemy*: and so likewise *Lessius* even in his Book *de Justitiâ & jure*, saith, *That a Tyrant is to be declared an Enemy by the Common-welth*: and thus *Parsons* alias *Doleman* in his Book of the *Succession*, Part 2. Cap. 4. terms an Evil King an *Armed Enemy*.

The term I mention'd before of *inimicus homo* is certainly proper enough for those that sow such Tares in the World as the *Jesuites* do, and make not only *Lollards* of ordinary *Hereticks*, but as the Commenter on the Epitome of Confessions, otherwise the 7th. Book of *Decretals* tells us in Commendation of all the *Jesuits* in these words, *Tyrannos aggrediuntur, lolium ab agro Domini evellunt.*

I shall here observe how in the year 1596. the *Hollanders* and others of the *States* of the *United Provinces* did Publish an Edict, *That none of the Bloudy Sect of the Jesuits, or any that gives himself to Study at this time among the Professors of that Sect, whether he be Born in any of the Provinces that are Confederate, or be a Forraigner crept secretly into the same Province, should longer remain there then the time prescribed, under the pain of being accounted and kill'd for an Enemy.*

But that Magnanimous Queen did as much think it Inglorious for her to employ her Anger in such a Proclamation on such sly pedants, as I believe our potent Neighbouring Monarch, whose Name will look as great in all future Story, for mighty dilligence, and for exact prudence in the Conduct of his Affairs of State, as for the Success of his Arms, would to Honour with the Title of *Enemies* such little great talkers, who here in the *Coffee-Houses* Arraign his Political Measures.

And the truth is, as it is not worthy the Grandeur of Princes, who are Heavens Vice-gerents to squander away its thunder, in experiments on Shrubs and Mushrooms, or on slight grounds, to call any of slight mankind, and who are of no Name, by that dreadful one of *Enemies*, a name that the Impotent passion of Subjects makes them so familiarly vex one another with, and thereby shews them not such fit depositaries of Heavens

Artillary as Sovereigns are; so is it extremely unbecoming the Glorious height to which the Doctrine of the Cross hath exalted humane Nature, for men (as I may say) to descend from Heaven to Earth for Dirt, and to Hell for Fire-brands to throw at one another, and petulantly to call those that were sometime Aliens and Enemies in their mind, &c. always such after the Divine reconciliation, or even to manage the most lawful and just War, *Sine quadam benevolentia*, as St. *Austines* words are, or to think that they can justly assume the great Name first used at *Antioch*, and yet retain a Constant and Stated enmity against any Person whatsoever; For according to the Excellent saying of *Tertullian*, *Christianus nullius est hostis*.

But the Bosome of that wise Princess was no resting place for *Anger*, and all the *Popes* Thunder could not discompose her; and as in all Games they who in their play retain a Constant Equability of mind, are generally most Successful; so was she in the great Political Game she play'd, by being *Semper eadem*; and the *Papal Excommunications* seem'd to her as despicable, as the *Curses* of loosing Gamesters: and I doubt not but by her Prudent and just Administration of the Government of Church and State, she hath laid the Foundation of the *English* Nations being *Semper eadem* in the Royal Line, and of the Protestant Religions being so too, and that no *detendam fore* can Issue out against either; (humanly speaking) and that any *Papish* Successor that can come here will find it his interest to use the Politicks of Queen *Mary*, as a Sea Mark to avoid, and Queen *Elizabeth's* as a Land Mark to go by; and it being clear accordingly as Sir *W. P.* in his Manuscript discourse called, *Verbum Sapienti*, demonstrates it, *Cap. 2. of the Value of the People*, that each Head of Man-kind is as certainly valuable as Land, that the many Strangers who have Transplanted themselves hither need never fear that they will be so undervalued as in the *Marian* days.

The Families of *French* Protestants that have lately come here have filled 800. of the Empty New Built Houses of *London*, and have given us too an occasion of entertaining Angels in those untenanted Houses whose Ruinous appearance before made them seem to the vulgar such as they call *haunted*; but from which no Prince can ever think of exorcising the inhabitants without Conjuring away his own Revenue, of which about one moiety depends on that City, and where the Rents, tho fallen as I say, would yet have been much lower but for the Tenancy of these Forreigners, and the expectation of others.

There is a very great President in our *English* Story, and that is of a Prince of the *Papish* perswasion, and yet one who was a sharp persecuter of the Extravagances of the Power of the *Pope* and his Clergy, and one who by the Introducing of Forreigners here to Manufacture our Wooll saved the Life or Being of the Nations Trade, which his Predecessors had left in a Gasping Condition, and one who by his Patronizing of *Wiclif* sufficiently shew'd that if those Forreigners had been *Wicliffists*, he would yet have been a Fautor of those Hereticks, and one who more disobligh'd the *Pope* by seizing on the Lands of the *Alien* Orthodox Clerical Idlers, then he could have done by the entertainment of many Heterodox lay *Alien* Manufacturers. 'Tis needless to say that I here mean our great *Edward the third*, of whom and of Queen *Elizabeth*, the prudence was as memorable, as of any Princes that ever Sate on the *English* Throne; And I will never despaire of any Heroick Prince here, of the *Roman Catholick* perswasion, with his Scepter upholding the trade of the Kingdom, as those two great Names did, and that too by the same methods, if ever he shall come to find it in the tottering Condition that they did; and it may be well supposed that the experience the Kingdom hath since gained under King *James* and the

the *Royal Martyr*, and His Present Majesty, of the publick benefit that hath arisen from the reception of Forraign Artists, who have been *Heterodox* in some ritual points about our Religion, will make their expulsion seem a Solecisme: And every Sagacious Person will (I believe) accord with me that the *Spider* hath done much more good to humane kind by furnishing it with the Invention of *Weaving*, then harm by any thing of Poyson.

I shall be glad to know from your Lordship, whether on your search among the *Records* of State, either in the *Exchequer* or *Paper-Office*, you can find Foot-steps of any thing like those returns of the Numbers of the People in *London* mentioned out of *Hewel* and *Cotton*.

I am sure that the knowledge of the Numbers of our People ought by Statesmen to be accounted their *Tallyon*, and in this conjuncture, as the *opus diei*, and to pass no longer for a *uoluptuon*, and that those of them who take their measures either of the publick Strength or Revenue without respect to this, are but *State-Enthusiasts*, and such who in their reckonings do according to our Common Phrase *reckon without their Host*, and do not govern their Politicks by the Arithmetick the *Scripture* suggests, in the question of *What King goeth to make War against another King, sitteth not down first and Consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?*

Bodin in his *de Republica*, speaking of the Numbering of the People, saith, *That the benefit that redounds to the Publick thereby is infinite: and that thereby Princes and States know what Souldiers they may have, and what Numbers they may send abroad to Collonys.*

I have been informed by a Person belonging to the Custom-house, that near 10000. Persons have had their Names entred as gone out of the Ports of *London* and *Bristol*, for our Plantations in a years time: And no doubt but the Number was great that then went away thither from other Ports, and likewise of such that went from *London* and the out-Ports, whose Names were not entred: But I was not a little surpris'd of late, when I read it in a Book newly Printed, called, *The Negros and Indians Advocate*, and Dedicated to the *Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, where the Author pag. 171. speaking of the *Kidnappers* trade or mistery, saith, *A Trade, that is thought Carrys off and Consumes not so little as 10000. out of this Kingdom yearly, which might have been a Defence to their Mother Country, &c.*

'Tis certainly a sign that we are very rich in the number of our People, when we can endure such a quantity of them to be yearly stolen, without the pursuit of a Hue and Cry.

Yet in this point *Scotland* is reported to be somewhat more unhappy then *England*, for those who go hence for our Plantations do Contribute some way to the Trade of the Kingdom, and many of them return hither again; But Mr. *Roger Coke* in his Book called, *Englands Improvements*, pag. 21. saith, *Its believed above 12000. of the Kings Scottish Subjects yearly go out of Scotland into Poland, Sweden, Germany, France, Holland, and other places, and never after return into Scotland: And that Author having before in the same page mentioned, That 5 l. given with an Apprentice to be instructed in the Woollen or any Manufacture, by which means he afterward earns 30 l. per annum, this in 20. years becomes 600 l. &c. which is more valuable to the Nation then if 600 l. had been given it, and the People not employed: Thereupon he afterward Computes, That the benefit which might accrue to the Nation by employing so many thousands of the Scottish Subjects there might in 20. years time be above 6 Millions: And according to the opinion of that Worthy Gentleman, we may further be inclined to think the Number of the Scots removing into Forraign parts to be very great,*

great, when we find among Sir John Denhams Poems, one with this Inscription or Title, *On my Lord Crofts, and my Journey into Poland, from whence we brought 10000 l. for his Majesty, by the Decimation of his Scottish Subjects there.*

But moreover the satisfying the Inquisitive genius of our People, concerning the greatness of their Numbers, may be of some importance to them and the publick quiet, in satisfying them of the *Vanity* of the former Modellers of a *Republick* here, a form of Government tho easily supposed Practicable in large Cities, yet not so in great and populous Nations; and likewise of the *Vanity* of all fears of a *Universal Monarchy*, bridling the world again, a thing which though it was of old feasible, when Mankind made not so mighty a Mass, is now far from being so.

'Twas easie to imagine it possible, and indeed to effect it in the days when *Aristotle* taught men, that no City ought to have above 10000. Citizens; and when, however the Number of Citizens was grown at *Athens* to 20000. and when in the *Roman Empire* the number of the Citizens was not so vast as is by many imagined; and so accordingly the Excellent Discourser *de Magnitudine Romanâ Lipsius*, lib. 1. cap. 7. then Speaking of the *Multitudo Romanorum* under *Augustus*, saith, *Ipse de se in Lapide Ancyrano clare hoc dicit. In consulatu suo Sexto lustrum condidisse: quo lustro Censita sunt Civium Romanorum Capita quadragens. Centum millia & Sexaginta tria, i. e. four Millions and a hundred thousand: And Lipsius* afterward mentioning, that the Number of the *Romans* encreased under *Claudius* cites *Tacitus* for making it then *Sexagies novies centena Sexaginta quatuor Millia*, i. e. about seven Millions.

There is no doubt but the People of the Provinces did vastly exceed that Number; but since according to the estimate of *Bodin* in his *de Rep.* 'tis probable that the *Roman Empire*, when at its greatest extent in *Trajan's* time, scarce contain'd the thirtieth part of the World, and that the prolific *North* stiled generally by Authors *officina & vagina gentium* by the encrease of its populacy, so humbled the *Roman Sword*, that within about 154. years afterward some of the *Roman Emperors* became their Allies, and *Gallus* submitted to pay Tribute to the *Goths*, 'tis no wonder that the thirtieth part of the World was since reduced to cease from domineering over all the other parts of it: And notwithstanding *Maximines* boast to the *Senate* in the fragment of his account to them of his *German Successes*, cited by *Jul. Capitolinus* in his Life, *tantum Captivorum abduxi ut vix Sola Romana sufficant*, his *Resvery* of the Immortality of the *Roman Power* on the Stage of the World was liable to Confutation from the same way of arguing, as his *Conceit* of his own Immortality was; which having been observed to have tainted his fancy on the occasion of his great and robust Body, the same *Capitolinus* in his Life saies was corrected by a Players reciting these Lines on the Stage in his presence:

*Qui ab uno non potest a multis occiditur,
Elephans grandis est & occiditur,
Leo fortis est & occiditur,
Tigris fortis est & occiditur,
Cave multos si Singulos non times.*

But what I find by *Lipsius* in the second Book, third Chapter there cited out of *Tertullian* is much more applicable to the present State of the World, then to that wherein twas Writ: He saith there, *At Tertulliani locum non insuper habeo, qui egregie asserit Copiam hominum, cultumq; orbis in suo, i. e. Severi*

Severi Sæculo. De animâ Cap. 30. Certè quidem ipse orbis in promptu est, cultior de die, & instruitior pristino. Omnia jam pervia, omnia nota, omnia negotiosa. Solitudines famosas retrò fundi amænissimi oblitteraverunt: Sylvas arva domuerunt: feras pecora fugaverunt: Arenæ Seruntur, Saxa panguntur, Raludes eliquantur. Tantæ urbes quantæ non casæ quondam, Jam nec Insulæ horrent, nec Scopuli terrent: ubique domus, ubique populus, ubique Resp. ubique vita. Summum testimonium frequentiae humanæ, onerosi sumus Mundo. Vix nobis elementa sufficiunt, & necessitates arctiores, & querelæ apud omnes, dum jam nos Natura non sustinet.

Then adds *Lipsius*, *Nihil impressus dici potest de pleno frequentique orbe.*

And that strong and populous Nations Conspired to break their Chains hath nothing of wonder in it; and the truth is, the freedom the World has gain'd since the decay of the *Roman Empire*, and even by means thereof, hath hung out such a Picture before all mens Eyes, of Populous Mankind, drawn to the bigness of the Life, as has made the Notion of erecting another *Universal Monarchy*, seem but a Portraiture of Imagination, containing nothing but bold Strokes of Colour, without regular Proportion and Design; and the Copying only a *Landskip* of the *Devil's Mountain*, and his shewing thence all the Kingdoms of the World.

How is the World ashamed now of its having been in the last foregoing Age, amused with the thoughts of the King of *Spain's* being its *Catholic* Monarch, and of having tormented it self with Jealousies about such a great Nothing: And which I believe was never modell'd in the fancy of that Prince, and was only projected by *Court-Sycophants*, and *Mercenary Writers*; and that he himself never enter'd any expres claim to it, one would think who reads the *Duke of Buckingham's* answer to the *Spanish* Embassador's Informations, &c. *Anno 1624*, where the Duke having aggravated some State-Practices, the *Spanish* Minister adds, *And is not this a Proclamation to all the World, that they aspired to such an absolute Monarchy as so many Books, Stories, Discourses, and the general Complaints of all Princes and States have long charged them with?*

But for such Writers as I last mention'd to flatter a Prince with Insinuations of the Greatness and Extent of his Power, is not more unusual then for Mendicant Poets to over-act their part in Panegyricks, or for the Celebrators of any particular bright beauty in Verse, to represent her as the *Empress* of all Hearts: And thus the Famous *Campanella* after he had made his Present of the *Universal Monarchy* to *Spain*, sent it too a Begging into *France*, as appears out of *Arch-Bishop Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, pag. 210. where he saith that lately *Friar Campanella* hath set out an *Eclogue* on the Birth of the Dauphin, and that permissu Superiorum, in which he saith, that all the Princes are now more affraid of *France* then ever, for that there is provided for it, *Regnum Universale, the Universal Kingdom or Monarchy*. The words there are in the Margin, *Quum Gallia alat 20000000 hominum, ex Singulis Centenis sumendo unum collegit 200000 strenuorum militum stipendiatorum commodè perpetuoque, propterea omnes terræ Principes metuunt nunc magis a Gallia quam unquam ab aliis. Paratur enim illi Regnum Universale. F. Thomæ Campanellæ ecloga in Principis Galliarum Delphini Nativitatem; cum annot. discip. Parisiis 1639. Cum permissu Superiorum.*

Yet with a *Non obstante* to the Politicks of *Campanella*, and his pittyful great Flatteries, I shall venture to pronounce the Great *French* Monarch, who is certainly as great a Prince in the Intellectual World, as in the other, and is truly by the bright Sun of Reason *non pluribus impar*, no Designer of taking the Dimensions of the whole Globe of the Earth with Chains; and

do think the most *Christian King*, out of his Royal Prudence, less inclined to favour the servile Flatterers, who would set him up to be King of *Christendom*, then was formerly the *Catholick Monarch* to encourage those who render'd him aspiring to be the *Universal one*: a Title which according to the excellent saying of Mr. Cowly in his *Brutus*, *None can deserve, but he who would refuse the offer.*

Nor do I doubt but that if ever the greatest Prince in *Christendom* should be adandoned to the Vanity of attempting the particular Conquest of *Great Britain and Ireland*, his Power in the Ballance of the *VWorld* would as soon and as sensibly grow insignificant thereby, as did the King of *Spain*, by the Design of 88. And as the Fate of the great temporary Disturbers of Mankind hath been their constant Augmentation of their own Expences, (which was a just pecuniary mulct from Heaven on their Ambition for their encrease of the charge of divers Nations in the posture of Defence,) so is it likely to be more and more to the end of Time: And it was sufficiently exemplified in the Result of the Pope's and King of *Spain*'s Politicks in 88, which reduced them to attempt the Remedying of the Profusion of their Treasure by sending (as I may say) Canonical *Waste-Paper* to the *West-Indies*, and the loss too of their Cargo of that, as appears by *Malynes* in his *Lex Mercatoria*, where he saith, pag. 126. *That in the year 1561, Pope Sixtus Quintus caused two Ships to be Laden out of Spain for the West-Indies with a 100. Buts of Sack, 1400 little Chests containing each of them three ordinary small Barrells of Quick-Silver, weighing 50 l. apiece, to refine the Silver withal in the VWest-Indies; and a great number of Packs of Printed Bulls, and Pardons granted at that time to make Provision against Hereticks, because the year 1588, had so much exhausted the Treasure of Spain. These two Ships were met with at Sea by Captain VWhite (who was Laden and Bound for Barbary) and brought into England by him, where the Commodities were Sold: But the Popes Merchandise being out of request, and remaining a long time in Ware-Houses at the disposal of Queen Elizabeth, at the last at the request of her Physician Doctor Lopez, she gave all that great quantity of Bulls to him, amounting to many thousands in number: And he and another sent those Bulls into the VWest-Indies, where they were no sooner Arrived but the Popes Contractors for that Commodity did Seize on all the said Bulls, and caus'd an Information to be given against them, that they were Infected, as having been taken by Hereticks. Twas alledged that they were Miraculously saved; but they were lost and Confiscated. Malynes further mentions, That he was employed to appraise the Lading of those Prizes, and to certifie what it cost, and what it might have been worth in the VWest-Indies according to the rate of every Bull tax'd at two Rials of Plate; and some four, and some eight Rials, according to their Limitation, every one being but one sheet of Paper, and by Computation the Lading did not cost 50000 l. and would have yielded above 600000 l. He had before said, That every Reasonable Soul of the Popish Religion in America must have one of these Bulls yearly; and that these Bulls contained a Mandate, that their Beds should be sold who would not take off one of them.*

It seems (by the way) that all that Treasure of *Indulgences*, bestowed by *Queen Elizabeth* on *Doctor Lopez*, could not oblige him from designing afterward to take away her Life by Poyson. But this was the result of the Trage-Comedy, or rather, *Farce* of 88. and *Broyl on the Coast* when *Spain's Invincible Fleet* that had in it but 8350. Seamen, proved the sport of Fortune and of the *VVinds*, and the fatal *VVrack* of its Treasure, inso-much that it could never since (if then) aw the world by the Number of *Mariners*; Men who love not to be paid with *Tickets* even in *this VWorld*,
and

and much less to receive them as payable in another, the which is the true Notion of *Paper-Indulgences*.

It is agreed on by all Writers, that the *Spanish Armada*, consisting of 130 Ships then had in it but the Number of Seamen before-mention'd (and of those too a great part borrowed from diverse Countries) and 19290 Land Soldiers, which Naturally clogg'd its Sea-Service; for the Antipathy between those and Seamen in Ships is such, that unless the Seamen are the Major part there, they are apt to look on those as intruders, and as such who stand in their way, and in their light: But in a Remonstrance to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, from the *Trinity House*, Anno 1602. Extant in *Sir Julius Caesar's Collections*, 'tis mention'd, that in 88. The Queen had at Sea 150. Sail of Ships, whereof 40 only were her own, and 110 were of her Subjects, and that in the same year there were English Ships employed in Trading Voyages into all Parts and Countries, to the Number likewise of 150 Sail, of about 150 Tunn one with another, and that all those 300 Ships were Manned with 30000 Seamen, that is, the Queens Forty with 12000, and the 110, with 12000, and that in the other 150, were 6000 Seamen.

But it is not unworthy to be remark'd, that notwithstanding the Concurrence of Providence with the Gallantry and Numbers of her Seamen, and the great event of the Confusion of the *Armada*, that made the VWorld so willingly Tributary to her praise; She was so far from giving it any umbrage of her claiming any *Universal Empire of the Sea*, that she as *semper eadem*, who some years before 88. (as we have it in *Cambden*) had on the *Spanish* Embassador's Complaining that the *Indian Ocean* was Sail'd by the *English*, Reply'd, That no Title to the Ocean belongs to any People or particular Man, for as much as neither Nature, nor regard of Publick Use permits the Possession thereof: Did likewise after 88. Notifie the same thing by her Embassador's Expostulation with the King of Denmark, and that the Sea is free for all Men, and that Princes have no such Dominion of the Sea, that they can deny Sailers the use thereof, no more then of the Ayre, according to that saying of the Emperor Antonine, I am Lord of the Earth, but the Law is Lord of the Sea; and she urged, That Princes have no Jurisdiction of the Sea, but of that which is near adjacent to their Territories, and that only for the securing the Navigation from Pirates and Enemies: and that the Kings of England never prohibited the Navigation and Fishing on the Irish Sea, that is between Ireland and England, tho they are Lords of the Coast on both sides; No less then the Dane is of Norway and Izeland, who challengeth this Right to him on no other account.

I intend not to awaken any Controversie about this matter that is asleep in the VWorld, and if it were not, do suppose that *Loccenius's* distinction in his *De Jure Maritimo*, namely the *Imperium Maris Universale*, & *Particulare*, and ancient usages, and the *Pacta Conventa* of Princes and States might send it to rest. I have only spoke of the Fact of the Point in Queen Elizabeth's Story, who probably foresaw that her great example of advancing Navigation, would oblige the VWorld to follow it, and that the claiming an *Universal Empire of the Shoar*, would not have sounded harsher then the pretending to such an one of the Sea, an Empire as easily drawn in a Poets Imagination, as a Ship usually in a Geographer's Map, and with the like proportion; since if the Ship were Measured by his Scale of Miles, it would appear perhaps two or three hundred miles long.

Thus the famed Venetian Poet *Sannazarius* long since in an *Epigram* of six Verses, that begins with *Viderat Adriacis*, &c. put the Complement of the whole Empire of the Sea on the City of Venice, and was rewarded by the

the Senate with about a 100 of our *Nobles* for every Verse; but they knew better things then to *espouse* more of the Sea, then their own *Adriatick*, and of that too a *Pope* once demanding the Original of their Right: they returned him an answer very like *Poetry*, *That their Charter for it, was enrolled on the back of Constantine's Donation, of which the Record was in his Custody*: They knew that the enclosing the Common of the whole Sea would have been too chargeable an Adventure, and that the Dominion of their *Adriatick* was no *fine cure*, but brought its Load of Obligation with it, and particularly to protect their Subjects and Allies there, and to purge it from Pirates, and punish Delinquents therein.

Nor could it be a remote Consideration to our *Queen* and her whole *Council*, that the securing her particular Interest, even in the *Brittish* Seas, was liable to difficulty and uncertainty, in regard of the uncertain humor of the Seamen her Subjects, and of the aptness of all Marriners to change their Quarters, and Embarque in Forraign Service, sometimes on a *Capriccio* of their reputing themselves disobliged at home, and at other times on their expectance of better Pay abroad: And accordingly the said *Remonstrance* from *Trinity-House* sets forth, *That in a little above 12. years after 88. the Shipping and Number of our Seamen were decay'd about a 3d. part.*

But tho the World has no Universal Empire, yet Seamen by the moveable Scenes of their Life, and their being every where useful and welcome, have the Previlidge of being Universal Subjects, and are easily tempted to seek good Entertainment in other Countreys, if they find it not in their own.

What I have before observed concerning the Influence of *Numbers* on the Government of the VVorld, will make it appear to any man of ordinary thought and sense, that the Science of the encrease of the People is not a nice Speculation, or an expedient in knowledge to salve *Phænomena*, but is indeed of much more use to the Body Politick, then the discovery of the *Circulation* of the Bloud is to the Body Natural: And I may add, That men's now gravely proceeding just in those tracks of Policy, that they have read and took notes of out of the *Classick* Authors, who writ when there were not so many Millions of Readers and Observers in the World as are now, would be as absurd as is *Astrologers*, taking the measures of their Predictions now from the Tables of *Ptolomy*, since whose time the Equinoctials and the whole Systeme of Heaven are moved from the Position they then had among the fix'd Stars, a whole *Sign* or more, and as is some *Astronomers* pertinacy in following the error of *Aristotle*, who asserted the unalterableness of the Heavens, because in so many Ages nothing had been observed to be altered, when the many Experiences of new Stars have since confuted the Reason that moved *Aristotle* to thing as he did.

Princes and States will now in the Administration of Publick Affairs find themselves obliged to mend their pace, and no longer travel so unconcern'd through the World as formerly, while now they see the new tides of Generation coming in so fast: And no doubt but the great example of the *French* Monarch, and his admirable exact proportioning of his *Receits* with his *Expences* (the which was so remarkable in that active and expenceful year of 1673. that then his *Receipts* came to 8,232,709 *l. Sterling*, and his *Expences* exceeded that total but by 25548 *l. Sterling*) and the strong Current of his successes will enforce *Political* Arithmetick on the World, as the overflowing of Nile did *Geometry*.

And it will be but Natural for us to Conclude, that the great encrease of the Number of the People here and abroad in the World, must of necessity be Fatal to the *Papacy* which has been so long an importunate Candidate for a *fifth* Monarchy of the World: But 'tis now too late for any one Man to be

be a precarious King of Kings, and particularly to think, that after the necessity and populousness of the *Northern* Principalities has made them resume their former Donations of Land to the Bishop of *Rome's* Hierarchy, that those Countries that before broke the old Roman Yoke by force, will now when better peopled, and stock'd with better brains, be again brought under a New *Roman* one by fraud, and that the *omne Malum ab Aquilone* will not be able in that Quarter to put an end to that which begins in *Nomine Domini*, and that they will not be the rather willing so to do, in regard that the *North* made the World feel the Malignity of both those *Proverbs* by its old well-meant charity to the Bishops of *Rome*.

And since in the days of Popery here in *Harry* the 8th's time it did pass in *Rem. Judicatam*, that the Pope had no more power over us by the Scripture than any other forrain Bishop; it cannot now but seem ridiculous to scruple whether he can thence claim more authority here than any other forrain Prince; and he who was exploded here formerly when the Critical Spectators were not so many, for having ill acted the part of a King on our stage of the World, would be thought mad for personating one after the Play is over.

Thus too in a less peopled World *Bartolus* the famous Lawyer pronounced it to be *Hæresie* to deny the *German Emperor* to be King of the *Universe*, the which any one would now account Madness to affirm.

- And if in *France* hundreds of Years ago its *Monarch* greeted the Pope with the terms of *fatuus & amens*, for claiming a Supremacy in Temporals there, 'tis impossible he can be otherwise thought there now, prosecuting a claim to Supremacy in things Ecclesiastic; for even his pretensions to that the *Clergy* of *France* have damned in their *Declaration*, by setting a General Council above him: and which *Declaration* the great *Monarch* hath there ratify'd by a perpetual and irrevocable Edict. And 'tis but with a Consonancy to the nature of things, that the Papal Infallibility should be concluded against in that *Declaration*: and since as the Author of the *Policy of the Clergy* of *France* relates, the *Roman Catholick Church* there doth so much swarm with *New Philosophers* there call'd *Cartesians* and *Gassendists*, whose new *Philosophy* has been there by Zealous Catholics observ'd to have ruin'd the mystery of the *Real Presence*, (for so the words are in that Book) 'tis no wonder if the growth of the *Messieurs les sçavants* encreasing with the Populacy of that Realm, makes any man's belief of his infallibility pass for a degree of madness, accordingly as Mr. *Hobbes*, Chap. 8. Of Man, well observes, that excessive opinion of a man's own self, for Divine Inspiration and Wisdom, becomes distraction and giddiness: and this probably may be the final result there of the late fermentation about the *Regalia*, &c. and the Pope be tacitly thought so as aforesaid, and his Power there insensibly evaporate, and without any visible disturbance given to it by the *ratio ultima Regum*: for no prudent person would declaim reproachfully against any of a quiet Phrensy, or molest and vex such a one tho living near him, and would much less project the disgrace or mischief of such an one living at a great distance, tho he should assume to himself bigger Titles than ever the Kings of *India* or *Persia* did, and call himself *Son of the Sun*, or *Lord of the Sea and Land*; or like some of the *Roman Emperors*, challenge Divinity, or be styled *Dominus Deus noster Papa*. And thus may the Pope quietly go on longer to call himself *Monarch* of the World, without being call'd Names for it in *France*, just as the Dukes of *Savoy* style themselves Kings of *Cyprus* without any gain saying from the *Turk*; who likewise did not menace the Pope for causing the Brother of the *Vice-Roy* of *Naples* to be in *Rome* proclaim'd King of *Jerusalem*: nor when that Gentleman in Requital

of that favour from his *Holiness*, caused the *Pope* to be in *Naples* proclaimed *Caliph of Bandas*, was the *Mogul* aggrieved thereby.

And thus probably too will the Enthusiast's who assert a *Millennium* or Universal Reign of Christ on earth, with that quietness and gentleness that the ancient Fathers before the first *Nicene* Council did, pass off the Stage of the World; but it will seem ridiculous not to bind such *Fifth-Monarchy* Men in *Chains* as Mad-men, who have in *England* and *Germany* endeavoured to bind Kings so, and Nobles with Fetters of Iron, and who would again make Convulsions in the State, by the Diseases of their minds, as once *Mahomet's* Epileptic Fits shook the World, and who by promising us a new Heaven and a new Earth would confound the old, and only give us a new Hell broke loose. But the World will not now be blunder'd into Confusion by such wild Reformers.

In the Book of the *Apocalypse* (of which *Bodin* tells us in his *Methodus ad facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*, that *Calvin's* Opinion being ask'd, he answer'd, *Se penitus ignorare quid velit tam obscurus scriptor*) it must be confessed that the Majesty of the Style is agreeable to that of the rest of the holy Text, and that the predictions of the future State of the Church, and of its splendor in the World are not *grosso modo* utter'd, or attended with any irregularity, but on the contrary that God appears there as the God of Order, and applying all the exactness of proportion and number, and its very fractions to the great things foretold. After one Verse hath accounted the number of the Beast to be 666, the next mentions St. John's Vision of a Lamb standing on Mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand. The Bodies of the Witnesses are mentioned to be unburied three days and an half. The 4 Angels were loosed which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a Month and a Year for to slay the third part of Men. The Woman was to be in the Wilderness 1260 days, and to be nourished there for a time, and times, and half a time. Blood came out of the Wine-Press by the space of 1600 Furlongs. There were Seal'd of all the Tribes of Israel 144000. And in the State of Babylon mentioned in Cap. 18th, where the voice from Heaven is heard, Come out of her my People, though all the various Sects of Religion that thrust one another into Babylon, will admit of no proportion in their revenge, yet it is there say'd, Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works, in the Cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

But near the end of that Book, where the great Scene of The New Heaven and the New Earth opens, and the Vision of the New Jerusalem is described, a Golden Rod was given the Angel to measure the City, and the Measures thereof are particularized.

And tho I pretend not to understand the meaning of any of these obscure passages of Scripture, yet one thing seems to me there as Conspicuous as the Meridian Light, namely, That as the Divine Providence did found the Old World in Number, Weight and Measure, so it likewise will the foretold New One.

The exactness of the Numbers described by St. John in that Prophetick Book written in the Island of *Pathmos*, hath assured us that his imagination was much above the Vapors that fumed into Mens heads in several Islands anciently, and made them Prophetically Fanatick, as *Gryphiander de Insulis* mentions, and in his Chapter there, *De Mirabilibus Insularum*, saith, *Alibi fatidici specus sunt, quorum exhalatione temulenti futura præcunt, ut Delphis nobilissimo oraculo. Homines eo Spiritu Correpti dementes ac fanatici dicti, quod circum sana bacchantur.*

But it is confessedly too true, That some of the *Expositors* of this *Book*, and particularly in this our *Island* did too long here *Bacchari circum Fana*, and have therefore justly had the name of *Fanatics*, and may as justly expect that their *Oracles* should be silenced as the *Delphic* was, and that any persons of a *sober Party* drunk with *Enthusiasme* will not be again allowed to make all things reel into Confusion.

Those likewise who did here more *sum ratione insanire* than the Fifth Monarchy-men, I mean the Assertors of Presbytery, and who by the pretence of putting the *Scepter into Christ's hand*, projected to put it into their own, will find the numbers of knowing men now so increased that our World will be more averse then formerly against their offers to mend it by their assuming of Regal Power.

What well willers they were to the Mathematicks of stretching out on our Church and State, the *Line of Confusion*, as the Scripture-expression is, and how they thought *Confusion* as commendable a thing, as I mention'd *Antony's* thinking *Sedition*, sufficiently appears out of Mr. Nyes *Book* I quoted before, where the great Architectonical Rule for settling a Government in the Church is rendred to be the destroying its Government by Law Establish'd: and he there names it, viz. *Tollatur lex & fiat certamen*: and thereupon he saith, p. 187. *It was moved by some Parliament-men Friends to Episcopacy when it was to be removed, that it might remain till a better Government were concluded; but on the other hand it was prudently considered how while that form stood and had the advantage of the Law, there would be no freedom in arguing about it.*

But I account that the great Fundamental Principle for the quiet of the World, as well as of a mans own *Conscience*, is contrary to that of *tollatur lex*, viz. that no man is warranted by any intention of advancing Religion to invade the right of the Sovereign Power, that is inherent in Princes, by the Municipal Laws of their Countries. When ever any man quits this Principle, he hath made his first step from a Precipice: he is fallen from the Pinnacle of the Temple, and has very presumptuously tempted Omnipotence to save him, after he hath thus begun to destroy himself, and Religion too, and has to Heavens secret Will sacrificed its Reveal'd.

The shaking of this Principle is, as I may say, the shaking of the Earth; and as *Aulus Gellius* tells us in his *Noctes Atticæ* that the Romans did not know to which of all their Gods to offer Sacrifice in the time of an Earthquake, but did then only worship an unknown Deity, this too will be the fate of Nations where the *lex terræ* is shook by Enthusiasts, namely that too many people will not know what God to adore, and their pretended Illuminations will only serve to conduct them to such an Altar, as at Athens ground under the Subscription to the unknown God, and if perhaps some Enthusiastick weak Brethren arrive not at the denomination of the *Fortis-spirits* applyed in France to Atheists, they will be abandon'd to a disposition to close with the next Hypothesis of Religion they shall meet, whether that of Deists, Papists, or Muggletonians, or Mahumetans; as *Bodin* speaking of the Cause of several Nations, being fixt in their particular foibles saith, *alii longo errore jactati, non judicio elegerunt locum, sed lassitudine proximum occupaverunt.*

To this purpose our incomparable Bishop Sanderson in his Lecture *de adæquatâ Conscientiæ Regulâ* doth with great weight and a profound pious passion, reflect on the effects of the breaking the Establish'd Religion in England by our late Reformers, and saith, *Stetit hic aliquamdiu, sed non diu stetit effrænâs hominum temeritas, &c. hoc fonte derivata audacia, effluxit tandem in apertam Rabiem, & exivit jamdiu in furorem Anabaptiscum: & quamvis*

quamvis quo porro progrediatur vix habet, usque tamen progreditur indies, & nova quotidie parturit opinionum monstra: ut nisi ex sacrosancto Dei verbo didicissemus, firmum stare fundamentum Dei, neque adversus ecclesiam Christi prævaliturus unquam ex toto Inferorum portas, omnino metuendum foret ne Universa Christi ecclesia Atheismi velut diluvio obruta, toto orbe funditus periret.

Little did many of our deluded Reformers when they broke the hedge of the Law, think what *Serpent* bit them, and as little did many of their well-meaning followers think, that while their *Pastors* did speak the Cause of Religion so fair, that at that time the very *poysen* of the *aspes* of Popery and Superstition, was under their *tongues*, for that No Principle hath in it more of the *Popishness* of Popery, if I may so say, in the resemblance of the aggravation of *Sin* by it self, viz. the *sinfulness* of *Sin*, then the legitimization of unjust things by holy ends; and this too our last mention'd *Bishop* brands in his *Prælectio secunda De bonâ intentione*, where having mention'd that a *Cardinal* telling the *Pope* in a Conclave, that somewhat he propounded to be done was not just, and that the *Pope* reply'd, *Licet non posset fieri per viam justitiæ, oportere tamen fieri per viam expedientiæ*, he goes on thus, *Nimirum isthoc est sapere! hæc est ex Jesuitarum ni fallor officinis, deprompta Theologia, omnia metiri ex Commodo Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, sacrosancta dei eloquia qua lubet inflectere, Nasi ad instar Cerei torquere, distorquere, invita Cogere in rem suam.*

And too little do many who justly Complain of *Popery's* having supported it self by *Arbitrary* Power on *Earth*, reflect on their having supported that Power against *Earth*, and even against *Heaven* it self, and that the fumes of their *Enthusiasme* do vainly try to erect a *Pillar* of smoke against *Heaven*, as I spake before of the *Jesuites* *Morals*, setting up one of *Ignominy* against it, and that it is an unlucky part of the *Arbitrariness* of Popery to transplant some of its odious Principles among other Sects, as the Devil can at pleasure transform himself into an Angel of light.

The general received notion of *Superstition* is, that 'tis a needless fear about Religion, and there is no fear more needless and irrational than that of Gods being unconcern'd in its Protection; the which to imagine, is more unworthy of the Deity, and a greater tendency to *Atheism*, then was the delirium of *Epicurus* about God's Carelessness of humane affairs; and in relation to which, *Tully* in his *De Natura Deorum* having discours'd of one that deny'd the being of a Deity, saith, *Nec sanè multum interest utrum id neget, an Deos omni procuratione atq; actione privet: mihi enim qui nihil agit, esse omnino non videtur.*

He there moreover acquaints us with the *origine* of the word *Superstition*, saying, that *Non enim Philosophi, verum etiam Majores nostri superstitionem à Religione separaverunt: nam qui totos Dies precabantur, & immolabant ut sui liberi sibi superstites essent, superstitiosi sunt appellati, quod nomen patuit postea latius; qui autem omnia quæ ad Deorum Cultum pertinerent, diligenter pertractarent, & tanquam relegerent, sunt dicti Religiosi ex religendo, &c.* But those things that those antient *Heathens* carefully discriminated, many Modern *Christians* as carefully Confound, namely *Superstition* and Religion, and by the innate pride of Humane Nature leading men to worship the Gods that they make, rather than the God that made them, and which enslaved the ancient Jews almost with a *Continuando* to the Adoration of stocks and stones, and to the neglect of the worshiping the God that delivered them from the House of *Bondage*; degenerate Christians adore the Births of Religion in their own fancies, and having there Model'd a *Deity* do Act over the old *Superstition* with Anxious wishes and Formal Prayers that

that those their monstrous *Births* may out-live them, and do outgo all examples of the heathen World in the ἀσπορὰ δόξα, immolating Nations by War to those *Children* of their imagination; and thus Popish Superstition within our Memory turn'd *Ireland* into one *Akeldama*, and Enthusiastick Superstition converted *England* into another; and as *Lipsius* tells us, that the gladiatory Combats did in some one Month cost *Europe* 30000 mens lives to divert the old *Romans*, so fanatical have some that call themselves Protestants been as to afford sport and diversion to the new *Romanists*, and even the very *Jesuits* by *Superstition*, having made so many of us *Gladiators* against one another, and as if we were Brute *Animals*, we give them the recreation of seeing us like *Cocks* attacking each other with the keenest anger when they please, and give the Arbitrary Power to the *Jesuits* to make our Land their *Cock-Pit*.

But the set time (humanly speaking) for the extermination of the superstition of Popery here being come, and the worst thing in Popery being its *Fanaticism*, and *Holy Church* being the great *Asylum* of that, as our Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath taught the World in his Book of the *Fanaticism of the Church of Rome*, 'tis in vain for Popery or Jesuitism to save themselves from the blow of Fate by standing behind *Presbytery*. The *Conclusum est contra Manichæos* before mention'd that is now the *Vox populi*, doth with its full cry pursue *Presbytery* as well as Popery, for the making *duo summa Principia* in States and Kingdoms, and claiming an Ecclesiastick Power immediately derived from Christ and not dependant on the Civil: and 'tis in vain for any Principle, that an awaken'd World pursues as a Cheat to try to save it self by changing its name. There is no observation more common, then that *Popery* and *Presbytery* that seem as distant as the two Poles, yet move on the same Axle-tree of a Church Supremacy immediately derived from Christ; and Mr. *Hobbs* his *Leviathan* might have passed through the World with a general Applause, if no Notion had been worse in it then in Chap. 44. The making his *Kingdom of darkness* to consist of Popery and Presbytery.

The measures that the Genius of our Nation inclines it to take of things from experiment, will Naturally Perpetuate its aversion from *Presbytery* as well as Popery.

For tho the *Divines* of the Protestant Churches abroad that are fautors of the *Presbyterian* Form of Church Government, own not the doctrine of Rebelling for Religion, and tho thus on the occasion of a *Jesuite's* formerly Printing somewhat in defence of his Order, and alledging that several Protestant Writers had allow'd the Rebelling of Subjects against their Princes, and instanceth in *Buchanan* and *Knox*, yet *Rivet* the Professor of Divinity at *Leiden*, in his Answer to that Jesuite, saith, that all other Protestant Writers Condemn that doctrine; and he ascribes the Rashness of *Buchanan* and *Knox*, præservido Scotorum ingenio, & ad audendum prompto: and tho the persons who in *Holland* and *France* live under that Form of Church Government, have pretended to no authority from Christ to resist Sovereign Powers, and that the Loyalty of the French Protestants hath been so signal under all their Pressures that *D'Ossat* in his Letter to *Villeroy* from *Rome*, January the 25th, 1595, having discoursed of the horrid attempt against the Life of *Harry* the 4th, acknowledgeth, Concerning the *Huguenots*, il's n'ont rien attenté de tel, ny contre lui, ny contre aucun de cinq Roys ses predecesseurs, quelque boucherie que leurs Majestez ayent faite des dits Huguenots: i. e. They have attempted nothing of this Kind either against him or against any of the five Kings his Predecessors, notwithstanding the butchery or slaughter that their Majesties made of those *Huguenots*, yet is

it too notorious to be denied that that sort of Church-Government having in *Scotland* in the time of our former Princes been accustomed continually to hold their Noses to Grind-stones, which was a preparatory way to have brought their Heads to Blocks, and that Nation invading us with a *Covenant*, the very entering into which and the imposing it without leave from the King so to do, and much more against his Command, was a thing that perhaps to the *Associators* themselves seemed *illegal* and contrary to the *Petition of Right*, which provides against the administering of any Oath not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, there was by that means a Coalition between the Presbyterian *Divines* of our Nation and theirs in principles of Enthusiasme and Rebellion. Principles that our *Nonconformist* *Divines* in King James's time here abhorred; for in the *Protestation* of the Kings Supremacy made by those *Ministers* and Published Anno 1605, the conclusion of their 4th Tenet is, *That the Supremacy of Kings is not tyed to their Faith and Christianity, but to their very Crown from which no Subject or Subjects have power to separate or disjoyn it*: and their 9th Tenet is, *We hold that though the King should command any thing contrary to the Word unto the Churches, that yet they ought not to resist him therein, but only peaceably to forbear Obedience and sue to him for Grace and Mercy, and where that cannot be had meekly to submit themselves to the Punishment*: and their last Tenet is, *We hold it utterly unlawful for any Christian Churches whatsoever by any Armed Force or Power against the will of the Civil Magistrate and State under which they live, to erect and set up in publick the true worship of God, or to beat down or suppress any Superstition and Idolatry that shall be countenanced and maintained by the same.*

And I believe none will imagine that those Nonconforming *Divines* would take any Oath but in the imposers sence, or Casuistically advise others so to do.

'Tis therefore no marvel if our later Presbytery being so unconformable to the Law of the Land, and to the Tenets of the former Nonconformists, soon grew weary of it self, and did with its horrid Visage only face us and march off. Your Lordship found that in another thing it resembled Popery, namely in that it would be all or nothing, and you helped it to the latter part of the Alternative.

Mr. Nye who made a great Figure in the *Assembly of Divines*, hath in that *Book* of his forementioned, p. 98, helped this Age to know how Arbitrary they would have been in delivering men to Satan; for saith he there *the exercise of Discipline in our Congregations was ordered by the Parliament, but limited likewise to an enumeration of the Sins for which we might excommunicate, exempting other Sinners that were as much under our charge. This was looked on by the Assembly as a great Abridgment of their Ministerial Liberty, and so great as they professed it could not with a good Conscience be submitted to, as not being able to perform their trust which they receiv'd from Jesus Christ, and must give an account of to him, resolving to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free.*

So ridiculous were those *Divines* that tho no Pope ever arrogated a power to Excommunicate one, but for the Crimes nominated in his *Canon-Law*, and tho our Church of *England* never claim'd a power of excommunicating, but for a Crime express'd in the *Kings Ecclesiastical Laws*, yet those froward Disciplinarians would have been allow'd to shoot their Thunderbolts of Excommunication upon a *Capricio*. But not only the Parliament but the whole Nation in a manner pronounced them *Contumacious*: the people saw how Arbitrarily they would have *interdicted* the whole Land from the use of the Cup and Bread too in the Sacrament, and have rail'd in the Com-
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munion-Table with fantastick Qualifications, and they soon judged those Clergy-men guilty of *Irregularity*, and the rather for that they had engaged so far in *Causâ sanguinis*, and the same Sun of Reason and Knowledge that with the strength of its Beams had here put out the Popes Kitching Fire of Purgatory, did soon without noise and insensibly confound their Dominions in the *Kingdom of Darknes*, and those *Divines* themselves found that their destroying Episcopacy here, had in effect by the *Parliaments* being their *Superintendants*, enthroned *Erastianisme*, that which indeed their Principles led them to hate more then Episcopacy it self.

Mr. Baxter in the Preface to his second part of the *Nonconformists Plea* speaking of *Presbytery* saith, *I do not hear of many out of London and Lancashire that did ever set up this Government, and I know not of one Congregation now in London of Englishmen that exerciseth the Presbyterian Government, nor ever did since the King came home, &c.* And saith, *they have no National Assembly, no Classes, no Coalition of many Churches to make a Presbytery, and I hear of none (unless perhaps some Independants that I know not) that have so much as ruling Lay-Elders.*

Alluding to some expressions before applied to *Papists* and *Popery*, I may say that the *Cato's* of *Presbytery* came here on the Stage, *tantum ut exirent*, and that Government soon had its period here *per simplicem desinentiam*: 'Twas obvious that *Presbytery* as well as *Popery* directed men where to stand in a place divided from the Civil Government, and so to shake the Earth: and it appear'd very *inauspicious* to the Model of the *Covenant*, that in its first Paragraph, it should stumble upon *implicit Faith*, by swearing to a Government and Reformation that *shall be*, and to the preservation of the *Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government*, the particulars whereof, the *Lay-Covenanters of England*, if not the *Clerical* also were far from understanding.

And tho in that Paragraph the *Covenant* binds its takers to endeavour to advance the *Reformation of Religion according to the word of God* (a Clause that Sir Harry Vane declared to a very worthy Gentleman now living, that he caus'd to be inserted into the *Covenant* after much debate about the same, and opposition from the *Scotch Commissioners* with whom he was interested in the making of it, and thereupon said, *That he was three days in getting the word of God into the Covenant*) yet that *Covenant* having almost extirpated *Root and Branch*, those spiritual Guides from whom the people might expect a more Rational and Learned Interpretation of the *Sense* of the word of God, then from the *Presbyterian Divines*, they were soon sensible of their danger both as to the perverting of the *Scripture* and subverting of the Church from the new Correctors of *Magnificat*, and found that such an *Inundation* of Vile Religionary Tenets was got into the Church, that the Houses of Parliament ordered the 10th of March, 1646. To be set apart as a solemn day of humiliation to seek Gods Assistance for the suppressing and preventing of the growth and spreading of Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies, and that Mr. Vines on that day Preaching before the Commons, p. the 4th of his Sermon printed, acknowledged, *That that day was the first that ever was in England on that sad occasion*, and p. 67 of that Sermon mentioned a most detestable thing then broach'd by the Press, though yet in the way of Query, namely, *what is meant by the word Scripture when it is asserted that the denying of the Scriptures to be the word of God should be holden worthy of death: for saith the Author, either the English Scriptures or Scriptures in English are meant by the word Scriptures, or the Hebrew and Greek Copies or Originals, the former cannot be meant with reason, because God did not speak to his Prophets and Apostles in the English Tongue: nor*
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the latter, for the greatest part of men in the Kingdom do not understand or know them.

Mr. *Vines* declared his just Abhorrence of that *insinuation*, and faith, *If this dilemma be good, what is become of the certain foundation of our hope, or faith, or comfort? how can we search the Scriptures without going first to School to learn Hebrew, and Greek?* And 'twas obvious to every one to consider that if the *English* Scriptures are not the word of God, there was an end, not only of the Reformation according to it mentioned in the *Covenant*, but the substantial one promoted by the Protestant Religion, that help'd us to the Treasure of our *English* Bibles, and that we should soon be stranded on the Shore of *Implicit Faith*.

Nor could it long be hid from common observation, that those *Divines* who exclaim'd so much against the *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*; as an oppressive *Yoke*, would have imposed on us such a rigid observation of the *Sabbath*, the great *Scene* of Ceremonies among the *Jews*, as would have made it forgot that it was ever *made for man*.

The *thinking* sort of men found that tho the Principles of those *Divines* did not like the *Jesuits* make *Calumny* no mortal Sin, that yet as the *Adherents* to *Presbytery* did calumniate the Constitution of the Church of *England* for bordering on *Popery*, and the *Royal Martyr* for being a *Faunt* to it, so they did by their *Censorious* tempers transuse such an acid humour among the people, that very much loosned the Nerves of the *English* good nature, and distorted the *English* hospitality, and therefore 'tis but by a natural instinct that that old *Pharisaical Leven* is now so nauseous, that probably any one suspected of an inclination to replant the old *Presbytery* here and its *Arbitrary* Power to excommunicate, would too be *staked* down to a narrower tedder in Conversation, and be it as it were *excommunicated* from *Gentlemens Company*, as much as *Make-bates*, or common *Informers* upon *Penal Statutes*.

The people heretofore found out that as *Popery* endangers men by the *Priests* not intending to make the *Sacrament of the Eucharist* when he administers it: So that these, as I said, intended it should not be at all administered but to their own *Sect*, and that the gesture of sitting at the Communion that they invited men to, and thereby to their being rescued from the *Popish Posture of Kneeling*, was but a sort of *Sham* in its way, for that kneeling, was the gesture used in the ancient times of the Church, and the first that was ever observ'd to sit then was the *Pope* to express his State.

The observing sort of Men then judged that as *Sibthorpe* and *Manwaring* had been exploded for going beyond their *Credentials* from Heaven, as God's *Ambassadors*, in straining the *Prerogative of Princes*, these deserv'd to be so too, for serving the Power of *Parliaments* above Law, and for thrusting down the *King* into the Class of *The Three Estates*; and that as *Sibthorpe* was exposed to severe *Animadversions*, from the Age for his *Sermon of Apostolic Obedience*, shewing the *Duty of Subjects to pay Tribute and Taxes to their Princes*, &c. And p. 21. of that *Sermon*, applying the words of *Curse ye Meroz, yea curse them bitterly*, &c. to the promoting his illegal purpose; they deserv'd to be censur'd for going on too with the Alarm of *Curse ye Meroz* thousands of times over, when the *Subjects* were slack in paying *Tribute* to one another, to dethrone their *Prince*.

They saw that those *Divines* in trying to *salve the Phænomena* of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* and the *Covenant* that they had taken, were in the Course of their *Theology* continually put to it, to *deliberate* of *Rebellion*, and that their very *deliberation* of it was *ipso facto* one, and a thing

thing that included the horror of a mans *deliberating* to kill his Father: and 'twas but natural for the people representative and diffusive to fancy it lawful for them silently to *resume* the power given to those Church-men and abused by them, who were always in the Pulpit and Presb lowdly trumpeting forth the *Jesuitical* Notion of the lawfulness of the peoples *resuming* the Power given to Kings; and as I shall never fear that the King of Spain will ever be able to take the World in a Ginne by Campanellas advise to him in Chap. 5. of the *Spanish Monarchy* to employ Divines, to set up the Roar of *unus Pastor and unum Ovile* every where for the Pope, so neither shall I, that mens vociferating the Clause in the Covenant, viz. *That the Lord may be One and his Name One and in the three Kingdoms*, will ever again be able to embroyl them.

In short any one who shall consider that in *Scotland* Presbytery's former Kingdom of *Darkness*, the people have been so of late illuminated as to find the way to be Latitudinarians, need never have any fears and jealousies of that Governments, *jus Divinum*, again Marching hither. In the first Session of the second Parliament of this King at *Edenburgh*, November the 16th, 1669. There passed an *Act* wherein 'twas declared, *That his Majesty hath the Supreme Authority over all Persons and in all Causes Ecclesiastical within this his Kingdom, and that by vertue thereof the ordering and disposal of the external Government and Policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his Successors as an Inherent Right to the Crown, and that his Majesty and his Successors, may settle, Enact and Emit such Constitutions, Acts and Orders, concerning the Administration of the External Government of the Church and the Persons employed in the same, and concerning all Ecclesiastical meeting, and matters to be proposed and determined therein as they in their Royal Wisdom shall think fit, &c. And his Majesty with Advise and Consent aforesaid doth rescind and annul all Laws, Acts and Clauses thereof and all Customs and Constitutions Civil or Ecclesiastick, which are contrary to or inconsistent with his Majesties Supremacy as it is here asserted, and declares the same void and null in all times coming.*

This *Act* of Parliament is the more observable for that it declared the extent of the Regal Power in Ecclesiasticks, after that in the Year 1663, An *Act* passed there for a *National Synod* under the Government of Bishops, and for that *Presbytery* which was before like *Flame*, the only body in Nature that doth not content it self to take in any other body, but would either overcome and turn another body into it self, as by victory, or it self to dye and go out, was then grown so amenable to the Course of Nature in all other bodies (of which one is a glue to another) that not satisfied with its own former consistence, it did as suddenly, and easily, and quietly receive in the body of *Episcopacy* (as I may say) as Air takes in light, and as readily as *Metals* themselves receive in strong waters; and then it was that *Episcopacy* which in the Forms of Church Government seems by its weight as *Gold* among *Metals* (and indeed all bodies) to be the most close and solid, did there greedily drink in the *Quicksilver* of *Presbytery*.

But tho *Presbytery* then was and now is considerable in the *Internal* part of the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, and is likely so to be till *Christ's* second coming (humanly speaking) with a *non obstante* to any thing that time can cause, and will be preserved in perpetuity by the means of what my Lord Bacon calls the *drowning* of *Metals*, namely when the *baser* Metal is incorporated with the more rich as *Silver* with *Gold*, yet so willing were they in *Scotland* to give to *Cæsar* the real Supremacy that was *Cæsars*, that knowing the Protestant Religion can be no more there de-

stroyed under any external form of Church Polity then as I said, Gold can be destroyed in Nature, they thought it more prudent to trust the *Crown* with a Power of *melting* down that on emergent occasions, and altering the *Superscription* of its *Coin in infinitum*, I mean its outward polity and denominations, rather than that the *Crown* it self should be once more so fatally melted down by any of those denominations as formerly.

And as the *Covenanting Divines of Scotland* by at last consenting that some things in their *Presbytery* (which whether *tolerabiles ineptiæ* or substantially good, I now enquire not) should be preserved by *Episcopacy's* being the Paramount National Church Government, have done that which would make it appear ridiculous for them ever again to attempt to replant *Presbytery* and extirpate *Prelacy* as formerly, so likewise have the most eminent sort of our *Presbyterian Divines*, who were associated with them, by desiring since the *King's Restoration* to submit to *Dr. Usher* the Archbishop of *Armagh's* Form of *Episcopacy*, done the self same thing (over and above their being then reordained by Bishops who had before received Orders only from the hands of the *Presbytery*) and especially when it shall be considered that that *Form of Episcopacy* as described by that Learned and Pious *Archbishop* Courted them and was refused by them, before our Civil War began wherein they were the Trumpeters and before *three hundred thousand men were slain* in England, as *Mr. Carew Reynel* in his Book called the *true English Interest* Accounts the number to have been.

'Tis therefore with the justice of Fate that our old *Presbytery* too is gone among *Pancirolls Res Deperditæ*: and if it could be supposed that there was any *Order* of Forraigners, whose avowed or known design it was by force or restless artifices and retaining Pensioners to revive that Government here in spite of our Laws, I shall think the term of *koffes* with justice applicable to them too.

But there is another thing beside the *Coincidence* of some of the Principles of our *Presbyterians*, with *Popery*, that we have now too loud a *Call* to think of: and that is that the great real part of the danger that we now are in of the inundation of *Popery*, and its idolatrous worship, is to be imputed to their having broke the Banks of the Regal Power, and enforced the Royal Issue for the Safety of their Persons to be exiles abroad in *Popish Countries* for many years, and where they might be in danger of the Poyson of *Popery* conveyed into them in the *Vehicle* of the Civilities they received from *Popish Princes* after they had been so barbarously treated by their Protestant Subjects, who after they had by secret whispers calumniated them for being *Papists here*, did in effect by the loud outrage of their Actions bid them go and be *Idolaters there*.

When I think of the cruelty in the late *Usurpation* they shewed to his Majesty in his being thus not led but driven into temptation by his Subjects, I am minded of applying to it, part of those words in *1 Samuel c. 26. v. 10.* of *David* to *Saul*, *If the Lord hath stirred thee up against me, let him accept an Offering, but if they be the Children of Men, cursed be they before the Lord, for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord, saying, go serve other Gods:* as to the meaning of which words, I shall consult no Commentators among the *Critics* but shall rather take it from the *Assemblies Notes*, and I may say that in their Comment on it they write their own *Commentaries*, and they thus à propos say, *I am now driven so as I cannot be present in the Tabernacle to worship God and enjoy those holy Priviledges, but am forced to wander from place to place, &c.* saying, *go serve other Gods, that is, tho not verbally yet really they have done it, and as much as in them lies, they have compelled me to Idolatry, by forcing me an Exile to fly into idolatrous Countries, &c.* It

It cannot have escaped the observation of a person so curious as your Lordship, that among the many allow'd ways of Punishment among the *Jews*, banishment was not one, and the reason thereof is supposed among the *Rabbinical* writers to be this: the Laws of the *Jews* and their *Religion* being the same thing, to have *banished* men from their Country and the benefits of its *municipal* or Civil Law there, had been to have *banish'd* them from their Religion and the means of their salvation, and from doing with the *Jews* were so averse that even the *Excommunicate* among them were not removed from all parts of the *Temple*, and were admitted there to a peculiar place. But this cruelty to Souls unknown even among the stiff-neck'd, hard hearted *Jews*, was by such Christians as pretended to the greatest tenderness of Conscience practis'd toward their *Sovereign*, and that to such a degree that as if they designed that the *Lords Anointed the Breath of our Nostrils* should be only in the infectious *Air* of Popery, after they had exiled him from his own Protestant Realms, they effected by the power of the prevalent Faction in *Holland*, that he and his *R. H's* and their Adherents should be banish'd thence also: nay, out of *France* where the Air was less infected with Popery, into one more pestilential, I mean into the Dominions of *Spain*.

If therefore there is any number of men in these Realms that owns the old *Scotch* Plat-form or Presbytery, and the former Methods to advance it here who shall be excessive in aggravating our danger of Popery, I shall think that herein they practise a great deal of Self-denial, and do not consult their own rest while they disturb that of the World, and are of all men the most obliged to speak softly of that Subject.

But more than enuf hath been said to argue the paucity of the number of such in *England*. The Bishops Survey of the number of the perverse *Opiners* in Religion, mentions that two or three are called *Self-willers* professedly: and by that number of that Sect (for ought I know) may be meant so many of the lovers of the old Plat-form, and no name can better fit any who would maintain the Garrison of an opinion after their Commanders have slighted it, then *Self-willers*.

But so much gratitude doth Popery now shew to Presbytery and to those who are call'd Presbyterians, that because they magnifie and enlarge the Numbers of the Papists on all occasions, the Papists do the like for them. And because 'tis now the mode of many timid Protestants to value themselves upon their Timidity's, and on the fear of the Papists and their numbers being fallen upon them, as if Christ who commanded his little Flock not to fear, could be pleased with his great Flock of Protestants here being in continual fear of Antichrist's little one, I shall now entertain your Lordship with an Account of the present number of the Papists here, and some little historical Glances about the gradual decrease thereof in this Realm in several conjunctures of time since the Reformation, and in every one of which the highest tide of their numbers hath been but introductive to their lowest Ebb.

Of all Nations the *English* are observ'd to be the least addicted either to fear or jealousy. The Pencil of Nature hath in *English* minds on the dull and vile colour of fear (the which is said to be aversion with the opinion of hurt from any object) laid on that more noble and bright one, which is said to be the hope of avoiding that hurt by resistance, and is called Courage: and this Age which is so inquisitive into the Causes of things, will be naturally apt to abominate that fear that is causeless, or without the apprehension of why or what, and which from the Fables of *Pan* (as Mr. *Hobbs* saith) is called *Panic-fear*: and methinks the very *English* genius doth

doth now begin to rouse it self up and call on us to weigh our fear, and if we find it just to prevent our being surprized by danger, and if causeless, to abandon it, according to the words of the *Orator* against *Catiline*, *Si verus ne opprimar, sin falsus ut tandem aliquando timere desinam*, and not to contribute to the encreasing the numbers of the *Papists* which has in all times most fatally happen'd (and that too according to the course of Nature) by the fearing them, according to the Instance of the encrease of the number of the *Jews* mentioned in the Book of *Esther*, where 'tis said, *And many of the people of the Land became Jews, for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.*

On the account of our having most justly deserved the *Visitation* of Popery we may very reasonably apprehend the danger of it: but the immoderate fear of the Plague is so far from being an Antidote against it that we use to say, it comes with a fear. And as we have justly deserved to be punished by the rage of Popery, so have we likewise to be tormented with those Epidemic fears to which we are abandon'd, a Judgment mention'd by the Royal Prophet, where he says, *Put them in fear O Lord, &c.* and likewise one Concomitant of our fear, namely, the same we are expos'd to for it from the *Papists* themselves. An instance of it occur'd to me in the Reading a Pamphlet call'd *the seasonable Address of the Church of England to both Houses of Parliament*, Printed in the Year 1677, but writ by a *Papist* and in the way of *Sarcasme*, where in p. 30. the Author saith, *And here I cannot omit to tell you that this partiality of our Rigor hath already given Protestants the confusion and Papists the comfort to imagine that our fears and jealousies of Popery which at present disturb and distract the Nation, are but the self same sprights that haunted Caiphas his house, lay under the Jews Council-Table, and scared them with the Romans coming and overrunning their Country. There have been men of so weak a judgment that they have dyed only with the fear of death, and it is not without all ground that our Adversaries now hope that we shall at length turn Papists with the fear of Popery.*

But that I am not heterodox in my Notion of Poperies not being now so formidable, by the strength of its numbers as the timid Protestants make it, is sufficiently manifest from the Conditional *Vote* of two Houses of *Commons* relating to the being revenged on the *Papists*.

Part of the entertainment I just now promised your Lordship, I shall borrow from Dr. *Glanville*, and for it do refer you to his *Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, p. 46, 47. where he saith, *in the year 1676, Orders came from the Archbishop to the several Bishops, and from them to the respective Ministers and Church-wardens in the Province of Canterbury, to enquire carefully and to return an Account of the distinct Numbers of Conformists, Nonconformists and Papists in their several Parishes, viz. Of all such men and women that were of Age to Communicate, &c.*

The number of *Papists* there returned was but eleven thousand, eight hundred and seventy. Now tho in this Account Conformists and Nonconformists were not so distinctly, could not so justly be reckon'd, yet for the *Papists* they being so few in each Parish and so notoriously distinguished as generally they are, the Ministers and Church-wardens could easily give account of them, and there is no reason to suspect their partiality, &c.

In *St. Martins* alone I have heard of twenty or thirty thousand: but the Account was taken there and as exact a one as could be, and I am assured by some that should know and had no reason to misinform me that the number return'd upon the most careful Scrutiny was about 600. I have found the like fallings short of the reputed Number in divers other noted places. In one City talk'd of for *Papists* as if half the Inhabitants were such, I am assured there are not
twenty

twenty Men and Women: In another large and popular one, a Person of Quality living in it told me, there were at least 600, but when the enquiry was made by the Ministers and Church-wardens in each Parish, the Number was not found to be 60; and 'tis very probable such a disproportion would be met between the reputed and real Numbers in all other places if Scrutiny were made. In all the West and most Populous part of England they are very inconsiderable. I hear frequently from Inhabitants of those places, that in Bristol the second or third City of England there is but one, and in the City of Gloucester one, or two at most: in the other great Towns and Cities Westward scarce any, and those that are in the Counties at large are extremely few, thinly scatter'd, here one, and at the distance of many Miles, it may be another, &c.

We hear of the vast Numbers in the North, and there are more no doubt in those parts than in the Western: but I believe they are much fewer than we hear, and no way able by their Numbers to make any kind of ballance for the exceeding disproportion in the West.

The truth is People are mightily given and generally so to multiply the Numbers of Papists, and they do it in common talk at least ten-fold, &c. And after faith thereupon, God forbid, I should diminish the real force of our Enemies, or endeavour to render us secure in dangers. The Malignity and Principles of Papists, their unwearied zeal and diligence to overthrow our Religion, I very well know and thank God that the whole Kingdom is awakened to apprehend: but I think we shall encourage them and dishearten our selves, if we over magnifie their strength, &c.

There came out in Print in London in the year 1680. a Sheet of Paper called a Catalogue of the Names of such Persons as are or are reputed to be of the Romish Religion, not as yet Convicted, being Inhabitants within the County of Middlesex, Cities of London and Westminster and Weekly Bills of Mortality, exactly as they are ordered to be inserted in the several Commissions appointed for the more speedy Convicting of such as shall be found of that Religion; a Paper, that was not Published I think by a friend to the Papists: for the Author there Names them and the respective Parishes they lived in, and the total number of Men and Women there was 317, of which only one Man was there called *Monfieur*, tho yet six others seem'd to me there to be of *French* Names; and one there has a *Dutch* Name, and only one person is there call'd an *Italian*; so that notwithstanding the great Cry of Foreign Papists in, and about London, they did but little more than make a Number: and the persons there reckoned for St. Martins in the Fields are but 22, and for Covent-Garden but 4, where yet the Bishops Survey makes 64, and for St. Margarets Westminster that Printed Paper makes but 4, of which the Number it seem'd in 41, proved so dreadful to Justice Howard.

St. Andrews Holborn has in that Paper but 6, which in the Bishops Survey has 13. St. Giles in the Fields has in that Paper but 23, which has in the Bishops Survey 126. The Savoy in that Paper has but 6, which in the Bishops Survey has just the same Number, and St. Giles Cripplegate has there but 2, which in the Bishops Survey has 20.

Of the care that was probably taken in those Parishes in London that made Returns in that Survey, Covent-Garden-Parish, and some others are Instances in one thing, namely that there are near so many houses as Returns are made for, or not many more. Thus in Covent-Garden the Conformists return'd are 790: the Papists 64, the Nonconformists 6: and so Servants and Children and Lodgers being not return'd (as Dr. Glauville saith,) the persons of Men and their Wives return'd in all there, are 860, which agrees pretty well with the number of houses there which are about 460.

I suppose that Printed Paper by the Number of Inhabitants included only House-keepers as the Bishops Survey did, and tho it is not to be doubted but that when that Survey was made, there were in the respective Diocesses, Deaneries and Parishes therein return'd, at least the full Number of the Papists therein mention'd, yet the Popish Plot about two years after occasioning the other Paper, it may be supposed that what by many Popish Families removing out of the Realm, and what by many of them coming to our Churches, the Number of the Popish Reculants did there considerably decrease, as it has from the beginning of the *Reformation* gradually done, unless in some particular Intervals, or *Conjunctures*, and is likely so to do, till the uncouthness and strangeness of their Principles and Scarcity of the persons that own them shall make them *tolerable* as *Rarities*.

I did before in this Letter thus far accord with Mr. Nye that *Popery* since the Reformation may have sometimes acquired a new vigour, and that it hath not always since its first assaults against Popery gain'd ground of it proportionably, but whatever the Fate of the Ejected *Puritan* Divines in Queen *Elizabeth's* days was, and whether deserv'd or not, and properly or not timed, I enquire not (tho yet in our days the plenty of Conformist Divines is such visibly that the supply of all our good Livings needs not crave Aid from *Dissenters*) but do on all thoughts made persist in my opinion, that Protestantism hath since its being first espous'd here as a Religion propagated it self by the great encrease of its followers, except in some infectious Intervals of time, as I may call them.

Thus tho the *Observator* on the *Bills* of Mortality hath taught us as aforesaid that every Marriage with another produceth four Children, yet in times of *Pestilence* (we are told by him) that the *Christnings decrease*, and that a *Disposition in the Air* toward the Plague doth also dispose Women to *Abortion*, and considering this, we may well infer, when the *Burials* do much exceed the *Births* in any City *reverà* (and not seemingly, by the not Registring all the Births) that tho the *Bills* of Mortality tell us that there dyed then none of the Plague, and that there were then *Parishes* infected with the Plague none, yet there is then a *Pestilence* there Reigning. And thus is it a *Pestilential* time with a Church, when more Apostatise from it then are born or as I may say regenerated into it, or converted; and therefore by such times we are not to estimate the encrease of the propagation of the Numbers of the Church of *England*.

There was a time in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign that the Reformation was honour'd by all *Englands* populace, being of a piece almost, and worshipping God in the way prescribed with one heart and one mind: and then as we are told by Sir Ro. Cotton, p. 42. and 43. Of his considerations for repressing the encrease of Papists, till the 11th of her Reign, a Recusants name was scarce known, &c. the name of a Papist smelt rank even in their own Nostrils, and for pure shame to be accounted such, they resorted duly to our Churches: but when they saw their great Coriphæus Sanders had slyly pinn'd the Name of Puritans on the Sleeves of Protestants that encountred them with most courage and perceived that the word was pleasing to some of our own side, &c. That (saith he) brought plenty of water to the Popes Mill, and there will most Men grind where they see appearance to be well serv'd.

But the accidental encrease of their Numbers in any *Conjuncture* was carefully regarded by the State, and to this purpose we are told it in *Heywood Townsends* Collections, that Dr. Bennet acquainted the House of Commons that there were 1500 Recusants in Yorkshire, which he vouched upon his Credit

Credit were presented in the Ecclesiastical Court, and before the Council at York.

Popery it seems then gain'd ground in the poor *North*, having lost it in the warm *South*, and to this day in the Northern parts of *England* where the *Living*s generally are poor, the light of the Gospel hath not quite dissipated the Mists of Popery, in somuch that if any one shall tell me that the *Province* of *Tork* which bears but a 6th part of the Taxes, and hath not in it much above a 6th part of the people that the *Province* of *Canterbury* hath, yet contains at least the half of the number of Papists that the *Province* of *Canterbury* doth, I shall not contradict his Estimate.

It is the Observation of Dr. Fuller in his *Church History* of the part of *England*, *Trent North*, that 'tis scarce a third of *England* in ground, but almost the half thereof for the growth of *Recusants* therein.

And thus as the *Observer* on the Bills of Mortality hath observed that Northern as well as Southern Countries are infected with great *Plagues*, altho in the Southern Countries they are more vehement and do begin and end more suddenly, it may be said that the infection of Popery doth yet continue in our Northern parts.

But that the Papists valued themselves on their numbers throughout *England*, toward the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, appears out of that Pestilential Book of *Father Parsons* about the *Succeſſion*, part. 2d, where he weighs the several parties of *England* in the Ballance of State, and saith, *It is well known that in the Realm of England at this day there are three different and opposite Bodies of Religion, that are of most bulk and do carry most sway and power which three Bodies are commonly known by the Names of Protestant, Puritants and Papists: and afterward speaking of the Great Power of the Protestant Party for wealth and force. He saith p. 140. A chief Member of the Protestant Body is the Clergy of England, especially the Bishops and the other Men in Ecclesiastical Dignities which are like to be a great back to this Party at that day, &c.* meaning the time after the death of *Queen Elizabeth*, when her Successor should enter on the Stage: and then having weighed the *Puritan* Party and its interest, he saith, *The third Body of Religion which are those of the Roman who call themselves Catholicks, which is the least in shew at this present by reason of the Laws and Tides of the time that run against them, yet are they of no small consideration in this Affair to him that weighs things indifferently, and this in respect as well of their Party at home as their friends abroad: for at home they being of two sorts as the World knows, the one more open that discover themselves, which are the Recusants, and the other more close and privy that accommodate themselves to all external proceedings of the time and State, so as they cannot be known or at leastwise not much touch'd, we may imagine that their Number is not small throughout the Realm, &c.*

The Vigour of the hopes that Popery had in that *Conjuncture* appears out of that great Historical Letter of *D' Ossat* to his King, Anno 1601, where he makes such a judicious abstract of this goodly Book of *Parsons* (for so he calls it *Ce beau livre*) and Animadversions on it, and saith, *'Tis about four years ago that the Pope did Create in England a certain Arciprestre to the end that all Ecclesiasticks and Catholicks of the Realm should have one to whom to go and have recourse about the things relating to the Catholick Religion, and by means thereof to be united among themselves, and to understand what shall be good to be done for their preservation and the re-establishment of the Catholick Religion, and some have given his Holiness to understand that by that means he would make a great Party of the Catholicks in England for what he would effect, and then acquaints the King, That the Pope had sent three Briefs to*
his

his Nuntio in the Low-Countreys for him to keep till the death of Queen Elizabeth, and after that to send them to England, one to the Ecclesiasticks, another to the Nobility, and another to the third Estate, by which the said three Estates are admonished and exhorted by his Holiness to remain united together to receive a Catholick King that his Holiness shall name, and such a one who shall appear acceptable to them and honourable, and all this for the Honour and Glory of God, and for the restoring the Catholick Religion, &c.

Here was it seems one Brief more sent to England then Mr. Marvel mentions in his *Growth of Popery*, where he saith, *That the Pope sent two Briefs in order to exclude King James from the Succession to the Crown.*

In fine, Popery was in a Storm during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in it the Papists were sometimes carried up to the Skyes, and then down again, and in their Enterprizes with variety of success in some conjunctures, their fortune was to reel to and fro and stagger like a drunken man; and as in a Storm many hands are necessary, so on the whole matter they found need of the numbers of more hands then they could command, and their Numbers decreased in the ballance of the people here, as much by the King of Spains Ambition, as did the numbers of the Papists in the United Provinces thereby.

And as they look'd big on the account of their numbers in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, so they did in the beginning of King James's: and as D' Ossat said in that Letter to Villeroy of April 2d, 1603. *You will find that the Spaniards who are most troubled about this Event (meaning of the Succession) will be the first to Congratulate the King of Scotland, so it happen'd here with the Papists, as appears by a Book in 4to, Printed for Joseph Barnes at Oxford, Anno 1604 called, A Consideration of the Papists Reasons of State and Religion for toleration of Popery in England, intimated in their supplication to the Kings Majesty and the States of the present Parliament, where in their Supplication at large Printed they in the beginning thereof in a profession too as inauspicious as was possibly, say that His Majesties direct Title to the Imperial Crown of the Realm both by Lineal Descent and Priority of Blood, and your Highness most quiet access to the same do exceedingly possess and englad our hearts.*

The Tide of the Succession against which they had striven was made by Fate to run smooth and clear, and they were resolv'd to appear on the Surface of it with a *nos poma natamus*.

Gabriel Powel of St. Maryhall in Oxford, the Publisher of that Book saith in his *Animadversion* on the said beginning of that supplication, *How can Papists without blushing acknowledge his Majesties Title to the Crown of England to be direct, seeing they have heretofore most indirectly and most unjustly oppugned the same; which Traiterous Parsons confesseth albeit for excuse, he assureth himself that whatsoever hath been said, writ or done by any Catholick against his Majesty which with some others might breed disgust, hath been directed to this end, to make his Majesty first a Catholick and then our King, as if Treason and Treachery against his Highness could make him a Catholick, and impugning of his direct and just Title, tended to make him King.* Rob. Parsons in his *Treatise of three Conversions in the dedicat. Addition to the Catholicks*.

But tho they gave themselves (as it were) an Act of Oblivion as to the many Treasons of Parsons his Book of the Succession, yet in this supplication they forgot not again in effect to use Parsons his division of the people of England into three parts, and so to shape the Estimates of their Numbers: and they say in their first reason of State, *the World knows that there are three Kinds of Subjects in the Realm, the Protestant, the Puritan and the Catholicks affected*

affected, and by general report the subject Catholickly affected is not inferior to the Protestant, or Puritan either in number or alliance, &c. And saith Powel in his Notes on that Clause, *If by Catholickly affected you mean plainly Papists, the World knows that in comparison of the Protestants they are but as it were a handful of Thieves among honest Subjetts, however you are bold to brag that at this present there are within the Realm more Catholicks and Catholick Priests then there were forty years since.* Math. Kellison in his Survey in the Epist. dedic. almost at the latter end.

They afterward in their *Supplication* use the word *Catholickly affected* to make it comprehensive of both parts of *Parsons* his distinction of Papists, more open, and close, and therein have the honour of the *Invention* of the Phrase of *Popishly affected*, that hath so much gall'd them since, and at this day continues to do : and I shall accord with them that the Number of *Papists* or of *Popishly affected* was apparently grown great in the juncture of time, after King James came here to the Crown : but 'tis not deniable that after the *Epoche* of the *Gun-powder-Treason*, it did more sensibly decrease; for they cannot say that by the intended blow from the *Gun powder*, they designed to make him *Catholick* in order to make him continue a King.

The Dean of Bangor in his excellent Sermon in Print, and Preached at St. Martins on the 5th of November, 1678. Speaking, p. 29. of the Conspirators in the *Gun-powder-Treason* saith judiciously, *For the Number I believe the design it self was known to few, but that there was a design was known to many more.* King James himself tells us so in his works, p. 291. *A great number of my Popish Subjetts of all Ranks and Sorts both Men and Women as well within as without the Country, had a confused Notion and obscure knowledge that some great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the Weal of the Church, tho for Secresies sake they were not to be acquainted with the particulars.*

And no doubt but that great Number took occasion to slip their Necks out of the Collar of Misprision of Religion as well as of Treason thereupon, and a vast encrease of the Numbers of the Protestants was thereby occasioned. But there afterward appeared another *Conjuncture* of time in which the *Catholickly affected* did in his Reign multiply, in the which however *implicit faith* could never come so much in fashion but that (as Gondomar observed in the Kings Chappel) *when ever the Preacher quoted Texts of Scripture, the Auditors would immediately turn to their Bibles to find them.*

Mr. Pryn saith in his *Introduction to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Tryal*, p. 13. *That the number of Priests and Popish Recusants enlarged out of Durefs by King James, if we may believe Gondomars Letter from hence to the King of Spain, or the Letter of Serica that Kings Secretary, Dated from Madrid, July 7th, 1622, to Mr. Cottington was no less then 4000.* He had before in p. 10. and 12. set down the *Petition and Remonstrance intended to be sent to King James by the House of Commons in December 1621*, where among other things 'tis said, *That the Popish Recusants were then dangerously encreased in their Numbers, and complaint is made of the swarm of Priests and Jesuites dispersed in all parts of the Kingdom.*

'Tis probable that not many Papists except Priests were then imprison'd, and it may be conceived that the Number of Priests who escaped the Net of Imprisonment was more then double to that which was took therein, and that the Number of Lay-Papists was very growing in that *Conjuncture*.

Mr. John Gee's Book of the Foot out of the Snare of the 4th Edition Printed in London, 1624. mentions the Names of many Romish Priests

and Jesuites resident about *London* in that year, and begins with the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, and shortly after him mentions *Collington* the Titular Arch-Deacon of *London*, and *Wright* Treasurer for the Jesuites, and *Smith* Vicar-General for the South parts of *England*, and *Broughton* Vicar-General for the North parts of *England*, and *Bennet* Vicar-General for the West parts of *England*, and the whole Number of them there named together with the places of their Lodging, is two hundred sixty one: and the number of the Jesuites out of that Total is 72. Moreover out of that Total he mentions only 3 as having been formerly in Prison in *England*, and but one who was at that time in Prison. At the end of the Catalogue of the Priests there he saith, *These be all the Birds of this feather which have come to my Eye or Knowledge by Name, &c.* yet above four times so many there are that overspread our Thickets through *England* as appears by the empty Nests beyond Sea, from whence they have flown by Shoals of late, I mean the Seminary Colledges which have deeply disgorged by several Missions of them, as also is gathered by particular Computation of their divided Troops: when as in one Shire where I have abode sometime they are reputed to nestle almost three hundred of this Brood.

In the following Pages he there Prints a Catalogue of Popish Physitians in, and about the City of *London*, and makes the Number of them 27; and no doubt but that in that Conjunction of time the number of Papists encreasing, there were enow Parients of that persuasion to afford Livelihoods to so many Physitians.

In that Book immediately after p. 116. he Prints a Catalogue of such English Books that he knew of to have been Printed, reprinted or dispers'd by the Priests and their Agents in *England* within two years last past or thereabout, viz. 156.

So fortunate was that Conjunction to the Papists then that the odious Name of *Puritan* was bestowed on any of the Magistrates that went to put any Laws in execution against Popery, as we find it from Sir R. Cotton in his *serious Considerations* for repressing of the encrease of Jesuites, Priests, and Papists without shedding of blood, p. 33. his words there are, *There is no small Number that stand doubtful whether it be a grateful work to cross Popery or that it may be done safely without a foul aspersion of Puritanisme, or a sbrew'd turn for their labour at some times or other, &c.*

In the Petition and Remonstrance of the House of Commons in December 1621 before mentioned, among the Causes of the growing mischiefs here the fifth Paragraph assignes one what would make Popery very prolific with Profelytes here, viz. *The strange Confederacy of the Princes of the Popish Religion aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs and subverting ours, &c.* and another is assigned in the 6th Paragraph, viz. *The great and many Armies raised and maintained at the Charge of the King of Spain, the chief of that League, and another in §. 8th, The interposing of Forraign Princes and their Agents in the behalf of Popish Recusants for Connivance and Favours to them.*

But in fine, in King James his Reign, the gross of the Number of the Protestants was generally reckoned to be ten times greater then the Papists, the which is hinted in the Posthuma of Cotton who then said, *To what purpose shews it to muster the Names of the Protestants, and to vaunt them to be ten for one of the Roman Faction.*

In the Reign of the Royal Martyr their Numbers decreased faster in many active Conjunctions of time then they encreased in any lazy one. The Author of the *Regal Apology*, and supposed to be Doctor Bate the Physitian saith in p. 39. *It is well known there are not 24000 Papists Convicted*

ed in all England and Wales: And if we should suppose the Number of the Papists then not Convicted to be double to that of the Convicted, yet would such their number appear considerably dwindled from what it was swoln to in any *Conjuncture* before in King James's Reign. And I believe if our Civil Wars had not happen'd, one *Canon* even of the *Convocation* of 1640, as ill as that *Convocation* heard among many, I mean the third *Canon* would have effected the extermination of Popery from *England* in the Reign of the Royal Martyr.

The Title of the *Canon* is for *Suppressing of the growth of Popery*. No doubt but a little before that time Popery did again *lift up his head* as if its *Redemption* were to draw nigh in *Ireland* and *England*, and therefore the *Convocation* then with great conduct and skill did lead up our Ecclesiastical *Hierarchy* to confront its *growth*: and I do not remember to have found that Phrase of the *growth of Popery* (which has in later days so filled our Mouths) used in any *Author* before the writing of that *Canon*: and do think that all the *Committees* that have been appointed to prevent the *growth of Popery*, or Books of that Subject have not produced to the World any means or expedient so likely to make Popery have done growing here, as is the excellent *Scheme* for that purpose drawn in that *Canon*, and which when ever it shall be with vigour executed will make our fears grow out of fashion either of the number of the Arguments of the Papists, or of the Argument of their Numbers.

That since that Restoration of our King and Laws, and of the discipline of our Church, a *Conjuncture* hap'n'd that made the barren Womb of Popery here fruitful of Numbers none will deny, who consider how all our great *Divines* of the Church of *England* did so lately *lift up their voices like a Trumpet* against it, as I before observed.

In the account of the Numbers of the persuasions in Religion in the *Province of Canterbury* that Dr. *Glanville* said he had seen, and which is contained in a Sheet of Paper, among the nine Preliminary *Observations*, the first is, *That many left the Church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.*

I believe by the many there are meant those that *veer'd* toward Popery, and I suppose that few had for several precedent years repaired thither from fear of the Penal Laws.

We have a *Remark* given us by that *Learned States-man* and Noble Confessor of the Church of *England*, the *Earl of Clarendon* in his judicious *Animadversions* printed Anno 1673, on *Cressy's* Book against Dr. *Stillington*, *That the rude and boisterous behaviour of some of the Roman Catholicks here disturbed the happy Calm they all enjoyed, and the vanity and folly of others made that ill use of the Kings bounty and generosity toward them, that they endeavoured to make it believ'd that it proceeded not from Charity and Compassion toward their persons, but from affection to their Religion, and took upon them to reproach the Church of England and all who adhered to it, as if they had been in a condition as well as a disposition to oppress it, and to affront and discountenance all who would adhere to it, and so alienated the affections of those who desired they should not be disquieted and kindled a jealousy in others, who had believed that they were willing to attempt it, and had more power to compass it then was discerned, &c. and this mischief the wisest and soberest Catholicks of England have long foreseen, would be the effect of that petulant and unruly Spirit that sway'd too much among them, and did all they could to restrain it, &c.* And afterward saith, *As if they could subdue the whole Kingdom and so care not whom they provoke.*

A friend of mine in the Kings Loyal long Parliament wrote to me for News after one of their Sessions, that the *Speaker* of the House of Commons, Mr. *Seymour* opening according to the customary manner in a publick Speech to his Majesty in the House of Lords, the nature of the *Bills* then ready for the Royal Assent, spake thus concerning that sharp one that will forever here cut Popery to the quick, viz. *And for the severity of this Bill to the Papists, they may thank their own petulant insolence.*

The word *petulant* being very significant, and importing sawcy, malepert, impudent, reproachful, ready to do wrong, one would suppose that those two great observing persons would not apply it to any body of men without just occasion.

It seems the House of Commons at their next Session in an *Address* to the King, October 31. 1673. had this Clause, *That for another age at the least this Kingdom will be under continual apprehensions of the growth of Popery, and the danger of the Protestant Religion,* and in an *Address* to his Majesty, November the 3d, 1673. Speaking of the Popish Recusants, they have these words, *whose numbers and insolencies are greatly of late encreased, &c.*

It was then high time for that Great Minister of the King, the *Earl of Danby* when he saw that of all Dissenters chiefly the Popish ones had fascinated so many with a belief of their Numbers, to cause that great enquiry into them to be made, and it was his fortune by the very enquiry to strip the Papists of many of their valued number, for the very next observation to that I before mentioned is this, *The sending forth these Enquiries has caused many to frequent the Church.*

Alsted in his Chronology ventures to say, p. 112. *David ex mera πολυπαραγωγία numerat populum*, and the thing perhaps done with an ill intent was punish'd with a Plague from God: but the Fact of our Noble and Profound States-man did abate the Plague of the late *Conjuncture* of pragmatistical insolence, and too the Plague of the fear of Papists that was then so epidemical among Protestants, and did in effect console us as with the words of *Elisha*, viz. *Fear not for they that be with us are more then they that be with them:* and indeed the numbering of people in the Bills of Mortality who dye of the Plague is not more necessary to the State, then is the numbring of the Souls infected in any *Conjuncture* with destructive opinions, and the omission thereof in a publick Minister when ever it should be as necessary as at that time it was, would appear in him a *Lethargy* that would be as Penal as a Plague to a Kingdom.

That useful undertaking of his Lordship as it was worthy of his very great abilities, and vigilance for the publick, so was it of the great power he had in the Government, and could not have been conducted so far as it was by any private persons: the Book called *Popery absolutely destructive to Monarchy*, printed in London in the year 1673. shews the danger of ordinary Magistrates intermeddling with the numbers of Papists in particular Parishes, by instancing p. 115. how when the long Parliament was first call'd, Justice Howard was ordered to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recusants within the Liberties of Westminster, to prevent which Mr. John James a Zealous Popist stab'd the Justice in Westminster-hall: and Sir George Wharton in his *Gesta Britannorum* saith Anno 1640. November 21. Justice Howard assaulted and stab'd in Westminster-hall. It seems that Justice of Peace as well as Justice Godfry found what it was to anger St. Peter, and so has that Noble Earl done (I believe) by some Papists murdering his reputation and shamming the Blood of Godfry on him in vallanous Pamphlets, of which I

hear

hear that 32000 were dispersed in one Week, and that it appeared at an Honourable Committee that no inconsiderable quantity of them was dispersed by *Celier*.

'Tis probable that the time that was taken for discovering the number both of Papists and other Dissenters was most proper, in regard that the Declaration of Indulgence visiting them as with a Sun-shine after the Rain, invited them out of their Recesses to appear abroad visibly, and as the words of the Scripture in another sense are, *To move out of their holes like Worms of the Earth*. And as if any man would give himself the trouble to essay the numbring of the Worms that are in the Earth, the properest time for that his affected Curiosity would be after the Rain making the earth soft, and the Sun then warming it had invited those Animals to come out of the Earth, the which lye within a few Foot of the Surface of it; so for the above reason was the investigation of the numbers of the Papists most properly timed.

I am therefore of opinion with the aforesaid Dr. *That the number of the Papists was near the matter retain'd with truth*, and that their number is still waining and will be so more and more, but in some accidental Conjunctions of time.

A late Author hath publish'd it, *That in England in these twenty years last past 250 Families of the Gentry and 12 of the Nobility have quitted the profession of Popery*.

And if any one shall affirm, as some considerate Papists have done, that the number here of secret Papists and who go not to Mass is as great as the number of the professed ones, I shall say that the number of the people of England having been in this Discourse represented so much greater then it was in former Estimates, the number of secret Papists cast into that of the known ones will perhaps signifie little more then the dust in the Ballance of the Nation.

Their Numbers that did somewhat encrease in the beginning of the Conjunction of their petulant Insolence that went before the time of the Popish Plot, as the Purples, Small-pox and other Malignant Diseases fore-run the Plague, did sensibly and suddenly decay by the change of the Air, that the Loyal long Parliament and its *Act of the Test* made, just as the *Observer* of the Bills of Mortality hath let us see that by the reason of the changes and dispositions in the Air, the Plague doth by sudden Jumps start back in a very few days time from vast numbers to very small ones; inso-much that presently after the breaking out of the Plot they took the advantage of the detection of the paucity of their Numbers, that the *Earl of Danby's* aforesaid Prudence had made, as thence to raise an Argument *ab impossibili* that they should design a Plot to turn the Tide of Nature in the Nation.

And thus as Men once pass'd the valuing themselves on the Charms and Vigour of Youth, do it for the Reverence of their Old Age, and hope to be the better treated as Guests in the World for the shortness of the time they are to stay in it, they did resemblingly too look big upon the smallness of their Numbers. The Author therefore of the *Compendium* printed Anno 1679 tells us, à propos p. 85, *That there are not 50000 of the Roman Catholick Religion in England, Men, Women and Children*, and that agrees well enough with the Surveys of the Numbers of those of that Religion in the Province of *Canterbury* of the Age of Communicants; and admitting the Total of such to be doubled on the account of *Papists* below the Age of *Sixteen*, an account that ought to be admitted, the *Observer* on the Bills of Mortality having taught us (as aforesaid) that there are in nature about as many under the Age of 16, as above it, and with the making the Total of all the Papists in the Province of *York*, according to *Fuller*,

equal to that in the Province of *Canterbury*, the number of the Papists throughout *England* will appear to be probably near what the *Author* of the *Compendium* hath estimated.

That their Numbers did considerably decrease after the fermentation in peoples minds relating to Religion followed the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and after the severity of the Parliament to Papists thereby occasion'd, a convincing Argument may be had from the *Letters* of Mr. *Coleman*, the which did confute several imputations of it in Mr. *Marvel's Growth of Popery* to the King's Ministers, better than any *Apologies* could have done, and has enabled Fame to Trumpet them forth to Posterity as *Confessors*, whom Envy here whisper'd to be *Traditors*; and let the present Age see that their alledged *Closing* with Popery, was but in the way of contending *Wrestlers*, and not of friendly *Embracers*: And no doubt then but the many Dependants and Followers those Ministers had, and the Candidates for their favour and expectants of Offices thereby, were then Enemies to all implicit Faith, but only for what they thought the Religion of their *Chiefs*.

In his *Letter to le Cheefe* of September 29, 1675, He saith, *That the Lord Treasurer, Lord Keeper, and Duke of Lauderdale were become as fierce Apostles and as Zealous for Protestant Religion and against Popery, as ever my Lord Arlington was before them, and in pursuance thereof perswaded the King to issue out those severe Orders and Proclamations against Catholicks, which came out in February last, by which they did as much as in them lay to extirpate all Catholicks and Catholick Religion out of the Kingdom.* And he in his *Letter to the Internuntio* of the 5th of February 1677 tells him, *That the King had sign'd a Proclamation last Wednesday to banish all the Priests, Natives of this Kingdom, to forbid all Subjects to hear Mass in the Queens Chappel, and at the Houses of Ambassadors, to bring home all the Youth that is now out of the Kingdom in any Popish Colledges, to prosecute all Persons, as to their Estates, according to the Laws, which are so insupportable, that 'tis impossible for any that is reach'd by them to have wherewithal to eat Bread, if they be executed according to the said Proclamation.*

It was but about October 1673, that the House of Commons in an *Address* to the King, took occasion to say, *It is now more then one Age that the Subjects have lived in continual apprehensions of the encrease of Popery, and the decay of the Protestant Religion*; but what Mr. *Coleman's* apprehensions were of the Growth of Popery on the 5th of February 1674, I have shewn before, and am of opinion, That though possibly in the following course of time to the birth of the Popish Plot, the coming of many *Romish* Missionaries here might make some accession to the Number of the Papists, that however the Laity of them, here Inhabitants, hath in its Numbers sensibly decreased, and will do so more and more, till the most timid Protestants shall be no more aggrieved at their Number, then of that of the *Muggletonians*, or of the *Sweet Singers of Israel*.

That the discovery of the Popish Plot hath had a natural Tendency to the abating the Number of their persuasion, must be granted by all who believe there was one, and who know that the blustering attempts of the Conspirators to subvert the Protestant Religion, and which have therein failed, must end in the better settlement of it, as all Storms that do not overthrow a Tree confirm its growth.

Mr. *Care* in his *History of the Popish Plot*, mentions, *That the Jesuites and Seminary Priests in England at the time of the Plot were about 1800, a Number far inferior to that in the Conjunction in King James's time before mention'd*: And short of the Number mention'd by *Prynne* in a Book of

of his, Printed Anno 1659, called *A True and Perfect Narrative of what was done, spoken by and between Mr. Prynne, the old and new forcibly Secluded Members, and those now sitting, &c.* where he saith, p. 44, *That an English Lord return'd from Rome about four years since averr'd, that the Provincial of the English Jesuites, when he went to see the Colledge in Rome, assured him, That they had then above 1500 of their Society of Jesuites in England able to work in several Professions and Trades which they had there taken upon them, the better to Support and Secure themselves from being discovered; and infuse their Principles into the vulgar People.*

Mr. Coleman complains of a *Conjuncture* as to Popery that he writ in, that *tho the Harvest was great, the Labourers were very few*; but Mr. Prynne supposeth the *Labouring Jesuites* who wrought in the Trade of Religion, and in other Trades too, were here after the year 50 above 1500; and it may therefore be well conceived that there were many Jesuites here beside who could only manage their Tools in the former Trade, and perhaps as many Seminary Priests as Jesuites: And no doubt without some hint of notification from some one of the *Jesuits Provincials*, their Number in any Protestant State can hardly be conjectured, in regard of their *Proteus-like* varying their Shapes, accordingly as a Description of them is given in the Book called, *The Emperor and the Empire betray'd*, where 'tis said, *There are in the Society of Jesus Men of several sorts, some of which are dispens'd with not only to lay aside the Habit, but to marry and bear all sorts of Dignities*; and he further presumes to say, *That the Emperor was thus in this Order in his younger days.*

Mr. Prynne in p. 42. of that Book avers, That *Oliver Cromwel* declared to his Parliament Anno 1654, *That the Emissaries of the Jesuites then came over in great swarms, and that they had then fixed in England an Episcopal Power, with Arch-Deacons and other Persons to pervert the People: a thing they never since the Reformation, I think, attempted in any Conjuncture till Quarto Caroli, and then (as appears out of Rushworth's Collections) in a Conference between the Lords and Commons, and managed by Secretary Cook, he said, There was at that time a Popish Hierarchy established in England, that they had a Bishop Consecrated by the Pope, and that Bishop had his subalternate Officers of all kinds, as Vicars General, Arch-Deacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and that they were not Nominal or Titular Officers only, but they all Executed their Jurisdictions, and made their ordinary Visitations throughout the Kingdom, kept Courts, and determin'd Ecclesiastical Causes.*

But it appears not that they had any such *Hierarchy* here at the time of the *Plot*, or that they have any thing like it at this time in this Realm.

Mr. Prynne tells us in p. 49. of that Book, That in that *Conjuncture* in *Cromwel's* time above 30000 *Popish Pamphlets* were permitted to be Printed and Vended in England, and that of this the London Stationers complain'd in Print.

But 'tis very little that they have Printed here since the King's Restoration, and the same private Presses which gave Birth to the few Pamphlets they printed, would have done it to as many Volumes as ever *Tostatus*, as Mr. Prynne writ, if they had pleased.

The great Number of the Protestants must still be naturally attractive of the lesser to it, for the preservation of their Persons, tho at the price of the diminution of their Numbers, as a drop is best preserved in the Sea, tho it be there swallowed up. This Notion is well confirm'd by *Edmund Spencer* in his Observations of the *History of Ireland* in former times, where he shews in what course of time a handful of *English*, planted among the
Numerous

Numerous *Irish* must of necessity become *Irish*, as indeed his own Family there did, as I am told, and that *Cromwel* speaking to the Grand-child of *Spencer* in *English*, that on the account of the Fame of his Ancestor he should enjoy his Estate, was not by him understood.

And there is no doubt but time will illuminate the Papists as to the Pope's *Politicks* being inconvenient to them, and only convenient to himself: For the same Principle in *Politicks* that makes every lesser State have a regret against being United to a greater, namely, for fear of its being absorbed thereby (a Notion lately in vogue when the Union of *England* and *Scotland* was agitated) engageth the *Pope* to keep the Papists from a Coalition with the Protestants here, that would drown the visibility of their Numbers, and consequently the appearance of the Numbers of his Subjects in this Realm, for so in effect they are.

The true Cause therefore in Nature that made the *Pope* by his *Bull* in Queen *Elizabeth's* time prohibit the *Papists* from continuing to come to our Churches, and to our *Common-Prayer*, a thing they would else still have done, was the *Pope's* being enabled by such *Prohibitions* to put Marks on his Sheep whereby to know them, and their Numbers: And which had he forborn, there had probably been no Number of them returnable in the *Bishops Survey*.

'Tis therefore not to be wondred that our Church got nothing but the destruction of its Hierarchy in the last Age, by the Policy used then by some of our well-meaning Church-men, who thought that the use of some Ceremonies more than our Law required would have brought the Church of *Rome* over to us. 'Tis aut *Cæsar* aut *Nullus* that the *Pope* would be; and he will here keep as many Subjects as he can, since not able to acquire as many as he would. And the truth is, as the attempt of an excellent Swimmer to save one totally inexpert therein usually proves fatal, so likely will the generous and charitable design of a Church of a rational Discipline interposing to save one of an irrational, and that can do nothing by vigour of reason to bear up it self, and is therefore meer dead weight.

Since the *Epoche* of the Popish Plot that the Press has been to all writing Mankind so much unrestrain'd, the World hath seen little of the *Papists* Learned Writings, or scarce any thing writ with Art and Wit, except the *Compendium*, and instead of proving in Volumes that the Church of *England* is no true Church, or that *St. Peter* was ever at *Rome*, they have extended all the Nerves of their Wit in Pamphlets, only to prove that Doctor *Oates* is no true Doctor, and that he was never at *Salamanca*.

And I believe that as the asserting of Popery here, *per viam Thomæ*, (or in the way of the *Schools*) is in the Course of Nature Eternally over, so will the adorning it by the way of Curiosity of Wit or Fancy grow obsolete.

But here it is proper to be observed, that in all the *Conjunctures* before-mention'd, and in those wherein our former Protestant Princes for deep reason of State have been most favourable to their Popish Subjects by the Relaxation of the Penal Laws, and when some Papists made great Figures in the Court, and got the Ballance of Court-preferment a while by stealth into their hands, and that *Holy Church* being anew *Whiten'd* over with some temporary Prosperity, many Proselytes did Flock to it as Doves to their Windows, yet the Ground that Popery got then was but Made Ground and not natural, and was too chargeable to be kept. And as the vulgar have falsely imagined that a great Plague has happen'd in the beginning of every Princes Reign, so has it been obvious to the more refined observers, that in the Reign of every new Protestant Prince, Popery has made a fresh

essay

essay to augment it self in the *Epocha* of a new *Conjuncture*. And that as in the most Pestilential times of Mortality, even in our *Metropolis*, almost only the poorer sort of People are swept away by it, Thus was it too in in those *Conjunctures* here, when Popery boasted of its many Converts.

But *Nemo decipit lumbos*, and Popery when pamper'd, did but Counterfeit a sound strength, and as *Quintilian's* words are, *Verum robur inani saginâ mentiri*, and was but in bad travelling Case by that washy adventitious flesh, and soon tired in its furious Race; while Protestantism had that permanent Motion which Dr. Jackson on the *Creed* supposeth the *Heavens* would have if God should move them in an instant, and which if he did, were (he saith) more properly to be called *A vigorous permanency*, alluding perhaps to things seeming to stand still when they move fastest. Dr. Twisse in answer to him doth to the Expression of a *Permanent Motion*, with a mirth and raillery unusual in him, apply that Verse of a Poet whose Horse being tired, and not moveable by the Spur, said to his fellow Traveller, who Rein'd in his Horse to go easily; *Your Horse stands still faster then mine will go*. And thus (raillery apart) I do believe that Protestantism will stand still faster than Popery can go, let it be never so high mounted: And we may properly resemble the course of Protestantism in any *Conjuncture* to the *Sun*, which enjoys its Natural Motion at the same time it suffers its Forced, and according to Mr. Cowley's Expression doth at the same time *run the day and walk the year*.

And we may as properly resemble the height and greatness of Popery in any former *Conjuncture*, and the greatness of Peoples fears of its Growth and Continuance to the dreadful Entrance and dull Exit of a *Comet*.

Many *Comets* have hung over our heads, and lasted some considerable time, that were bigger than the *Globe* of the Earth, which as they appear'd on a sudden, so hath that great Mass of Matter, of which they consisted, and which threat'ned destruction to the Earth, by little and little dwindled to nothing, or disappear'd. And this hath been the Event of the *Growth* of *Popery*, and over-growth of its Fears here, and I believe will be in any *Conjuncture* that can come.

I believe that if such an extremely improbable thing should ever happen, as that the Legislative Power should allow the Papists a publick place for their Devotion in every great City in *England*, the very sight of their Ceremonies would encrease and sharpen the Popular aversion against their Church.

Du Fresnes in his Learned Glossary in three *Tomes*, as to the *Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Latinitatis*, mentions the origination of the use and name of the Surplice, and quotes Durand in *Ration. lib. 3. c. 1. n. 10. 11.* for it, viz. *Eo quod antiquitus super tunicas pelliceas de pellibus mortuorum animalium factas induebatur, quod adhuc in quibusdam Ecclesiis observatur*: And cites many Authorities about its being used by the Clergy; and while the Ancient Monks lived upon the labour of their hands, and wore such Leathern Clothes as labouring Rusticks in the Towns with whom they wrought; it was but a necessary piece of decency when they retired to their *Oratories* to Worship God together, to have that covering of Linnen that might hide the sordidness of their Clothes, and so probably that Linnen Surplice appearing in it self decent, and carrying with it more respect from the just Reverence those Innocent Ancient Monks attracted, it came by that means first in fashion in the Church to be worn by the better habited Priests, and being here enjoin'd by the Laws of our Sovereign, and therein declared to be a thing not in its own nature necessary, it seems to me to

be an uncivil humour in our *Dissenters* to much to quarrel the use of it; and do suppose that the Civility of the *French* Nation appearing in the Protestants of that Realm, who are here, and to whom it is natural not only to comply with Princes but even their fellow Subjects in the use of all Ceremonies they expect to be treated with, may instill such a humour of *Complaisance* into some of those here who were aggrieved at our Churches, or, as I may say, our Kings Ceremonies, as all the Learned Books of our Divines have not yet done.

But if after the disuse of our Ceremonies* in the late Usurpation the sight of a Surplice doth fright them so much from our Church, how would they be disgusted to see one with a shaven Crown, with his *Amice Girdle, Aube, Maniple, Stole, Cheshire*, and other pretended holy Vestments, and see him use *Crossing, Turning, Ducking, Lifting, Whispering, Gaping, mingling of Wine and Water, Lickings*, and other variety of Gestures, and to hear Prayers in *Latine*, and to the Saints, and for the Dead, and to have our Bells Baptised, to have Vailes, Holy-Water, Holy-Ashes, Palms, &c.

Erasmus saith in his Epistles, p. 108. Ep. 10. *An hic sacrificulum illum malunt imitari qui suum mumpsimus quo fuerat viginti usus annos, mutare noluit, admonitus à quopiam sumpsimus esse legendum?* The Verse of Scripture in which he read that word, was *Josua* 9. 12. *En panes quando egressi sumus de Domibus nostris ut veniremus ad vos Calidos [Mumpsimus] nunc sicci facti sunt & vetustate nimia Comminuti*, no other Verse appearing to me by the Concordance of the *Vulgar Latine* to have *Sumpsimus* in it: And the folly of the Priest in so reading was so famous as to come to the knowledge of our *Harry* the Eighth, and to occasion his saying (as my Lord *Herbert* tells us) *Some of the Clergy are too stiff in their old Mumpsimus, others too curious in their new Sumpsimus.*

But that Verse in *Josua* was as unlucky and as ill boding a one to Popery for a Priest thus to signalize *en ridicule*, as any he could have found in Holy Writ, and carries in it self a revenge for its barbarous usage: For it naturally suggests to People that the Antiquity of the Doctrine of Popery is but a *Gibeonitish* or meer pretended one, and that even its *Transubstantiated* Bread is not brought from so far a Country as is pretended, and that it was no longer ago then Anno 1212, that *Innocent* the Third in the *Lateran* Council brought in Transubstantiation as an Article of Faith, and Decreed those to be *Exterminated* who did not believe it, And that Kings were to be compelled to *Exterminate* them, and that the Pope had power to depose Kings, an effectual way to put not only the nature of Things but Men on the Wrack, and then make them say they believe any thing.

But we having been used to the New *Sumpsimus* these hundred years, shall be so *Curious* in it as to make what is barbarous the object of our Mirth, as much as *Harry* the Eighth and *Erasmus* did, and the Novelty of Popery coming again here in the Masquerade of *Antiquity*, would appear as nauseous as would the mouldy Bread of the *Gibeonites* to the Men of *Israel*, if they had come to treat them with it a Second time.

From what hath been in this Historical way glanced at, concerning the gradual decreasing Popery here in the several past Conjunctions, we may without the *Amentia Prophetiæ* (as *Tertullian* calls it) say, That in any Conjunction that can hereafter come it will more and more decrease, and that under any new Prince Protestancy will be the Rising Sun, whose light will be then encreasing, and Popery acquire no more lustre then the short one of a *parelius*.

Doleman alias *Parsons* in his Book *Of the Succession*, publishing his thoughts how ponderous the Papists would be in the Ballance of State in the Conjunction

junction of time attending the next Successor, speaks thus, as if it were before him in Vision, *With these many others do joyn*; Et omnes qui amaro animo sunt cum illis se conjungunt, as the Scripture saith of those that followed David's Retinue (1 Kings 12.) pursued by Saul and his Forces, which is to say, that all that be offended, grieved, or any way discontented with the present time, be they of what Religion they will, do easily joyn with these Men.

And when I consider how many there are, *qui amaro sunt animo*, by reason of their Condition being embitter'd by Poverty, and that it hath pursued them like an Armed Man, and is likely so to do; when I consider that the Multitude of Free-Schools in the Kingdom, diverting the Education of the poorer sort of our Youth from useful laborious Trades, to the uselessly appearing Scholars and Gentlemen, or (according to the Dutch word) Idlemen, hath at last brought them but to fragments of knowledge and likewise of Bread, and tho wearing better Habits then their Ancestors, yet to be little better than Thiefs in a handsome disguise, robbing the World of their Labour, and its own quiet by their being Solicitors, Make-bates, Informers, proulers into the rights of other Mens Estates, Tamperers with Witnesses, Tales-men, Promoters of Office, Suers of others in the way of *qui tam*, &c. *quam*, &c. And when I consider what is so truly observ'd by the Author of *Britannia languens*, That of all other employments we have the greatest questing after Offices, that Men will almost give any thing, say any thing, do any thing for an Office, so that some Offices that were thought hardly worth the meddling with of late years, will now yield near Ten years Purchase for one Life; And when I every where behold the torn Limbs of the Estates of so great a Party among us as may be call'd the *Luxurians*, and who have sold the same Estates and Consciences three or four times over, and do likewise recollect the Number of all such Idle men, who have been observed of late years in Shoales so much to depopulate the Country to plant themselves about London, inasmuch that tho according to the Observator of the Bills of Mortality there usually did come out of the Country to live in London but 6000, yet there dying within those Bills 17249 in the Year 75, and 18732 in the Year 76, and 19064 in the Year 77, and 20678 in the Year 78, wherein the Popish Plot was discovered, and 21730 in the Year 79, whence according to the Rule of one in 30 Yearly dying, and there having dy'd gradually above a 1000 a year since the year 75 to the year 80 (altho all years of ordinary health) so the remaining part in London did thence appear gradually encreased proportionably, that is, as a 1000 dy'd each year more than other, so 29000 lived there each year more than in the other, and that there lived in the year 79 in London 120000 more than did in the year 75, and that many of these People having broke in the Country, through the Poverty that the Plot occasion'd, came to London to hide themselves and their shame: I say, when I consider all these things, I may well conclude that all these *Indigents* will be ready to hope for a Golden Age, and call any thing a Religion that will bring it them: And by a new shuffling of Religion will be indeed hoping for better Cards in this World.

Some of those who have been *Trumpeters* to the *Puppet-Shows* of little Enthusiastick Religions, and movers of the Wyres there, would if ever the great one of Popery should come on the Stage, be glad to be sharers or quarter sharers in it, and to be either Actors or Ministerial to them, and especially to be applauding Spectators when by the ill Poets of the Play, they shall be well paid to line the Pit Boxes, and Galleries to cry it up: and thus the Wit and Philosophy of a great Lady have been Celebrated in the Universities

Universities by Heads of Colledges, and lodged there in *Libraries* on the expectance of her being a Benefactress.

And if any *Tecelius* would come not as a sturdy *Pardon-Pedlar* as before to require Money (the which thing then proved so destructive to Popery) but to distribute it, there would be enow to receive it ; and among the *Indigents* for a while, according to the *Stylus curiæ Romanæ* in Mr. *Colemans* Letter of *March* the 14th 74, to the *Internuntio*, a little Money, *I say a very little will do.*

But *Conclamatum est* as to the state of Religion it self as well as of the Power of any *Prince*, when men come to be bought by him either into Religion or Loyalty. The profusion of Money in the way of Legacies by any one, is a sign of his being near his end, and *Tacitus* therefore saith it not improperly of *Otho*, *Pecunias distribuit parce nec tanquam periturus.* And thus is any *Princes* Power and likewise Religion near expiring, when once he comes to buy of *Hydras* heads, as Mr. *Hobbs's* expression is in his *History of the Civil Wars.*

I know that it hath been the common practice of *Kings* to buy of *Demagogues*, and some of their *Ministers* have perhaps been apt to think that those who formerly were by their Artifices able to make the Disease of Sedition in the minds of the people, had likewise the greatest skill to cure it ; in like manner as any *Doctor* of *Physick* who could make a *Quartan Ague*, or any other Disease, would be held in the greatest repute for ability to cure it, it being perhaps more easie to make a Disease then to cure it, as composition is more easie then *Analysis* and *Multiplication* then *Division* : but the too dear bought experience of *Princes*, hath seal'd the *Probatum est*, in this case of all popular *Wizards*, losing their power of charming, when they have been *Captivated* with Royal gifts, *Witches* according to the vulgar received opinion, being unable to hurt when they are in *Jayles*.

There is another *Notion* I descanted largely on before, and that overstocks the Market of expectants to be bought off, Namely, that all men naturally think themselves equally wise, and therefore as any Ship that sails faster then another, is in the Sea-phrase said to wrong it, so are men apt to think themselves wrongd by those who with Gales of Court preferment get beyond them.

Moreover tho the power of Gold be still what it always was namely the most ductile thing in nature next to degenerate Man made ductile by it ; yet will any Prince be impoverish'd who buys Gold or Men of golden Abilities and great Parts too dear by Preferments and Donatives : for such *Donees* will be *Continuando-beggars*, and everlasting expectants of further Gifts, and their conversion either to a *Princes* Interest of State or Religion must be still nourished by the same thing it was made of ; and therefore it was worthy the wisdom of *Solomon* to observe, *That he that oppresseth the Poor, and giveth Gifts to the Rich, shall surely come to want.*

And most certainly here, as in *France*, the Play of a Prince who shall use that Game to win Souls, will not be worth the sorry Candle of Conversion he shall light up ; and the Conversion of *Sharppers* will be of such who will soon run away with the stake of their Souls they have laid down.

The *Fisbermant* of *Rome St. Peter's* pretended Successor, can neither in *France*, nor here with a drag-net of Conversion, catch thousands of Souls at a draught, as *St. Peter* elfewhere did : but must Angle for every Convert, and that with a golden Hook, of which the value is more considerable to be lost, then is that of the Fish to be taken, and from which Hook too it can invisibly get off at pleasure.

A Prince of that Religion will have more occasion for the multiplying Miracle of the *Loaves*, then that of *Transubstantiation*; and the Multitude that follow his *Converters* for the former Miracle, will be apt as soon to leave him as they did our *Saviour* who followed him on that account.

The *Observer* on the *Bills of Mortality* shews us, that in December 1672. The Protestants in Paris were but as one to 65: and 'tis confessedly true on all hands, that the great Scene of the late French Conversions lies in Paris, and even there the present Ecclesiastical Policy is to Attaque the Fleet of the Hereticks, rather by Merchant-men then by *Fire ships*. I have never heard of any *Bishops Survey* of the persuasions there relating to Religion, but in the Index of *Mersennus* his *Comment* on the first 6 Chapters of *Genesis*, I find it said, *Atheorum numerus Lutecia*, p. 671. and *Athei in Gallia, Germaniâ, Scotiâ, Poloniâ*, p. 673. I could find neither of those places in the body of the Book; but observe that in the Learned Fryars Dedictory Epistle to *De Gondy* the Archbishop of Paris, he says, *Quibus addo te hujus arbis & orbis Parisiensis ut vigilantissimum Prælatum sapientissimè constitutum esse, in quâ sicut eximiam plurimorum virtutem atque pietatem admiramur, à multorum etiam infesto & immani scelere longissimè abhorremus: ad cujus fastigium non video quid adjungi possit, cum numen omne perneget, & ex eorum mente quibuscum familiariter degunt, sensum Divinitatis, & consensum pro viribus evellunt. Quamobrem impii suorum numerum in hac Parisiorum luce ingentem esse aiunt atque gloriantur.* But I have heard some more conversant in that Book then I have been, relate, how that great Master of Numbers doth make the Atheists in Paris to be 20,000: and it being justly to be supposed that those 20000 Miscreants being wretchedly poor (for that as *Aristotle* has long since well observ'd, rich men are naturally φιλόθεοι or lovers of God, who hath provided so well for them) they would presently seem Protestants to qualifie them for turning Papists, and receiving their Conversion Money, and would say as of old, *accipe pecuniam & dimitte asinum*, and instantly swell up the number of Converts in Paris. But Popery gains nothing in reality by those fugitive Converts: for the Fool that saith in his heart there is no God, will be easily brought to say in his Soul, there is no Soul: and therefore say I, *caveat emptor* to Messieurs the French Converters: the volatile Converts for a good quantity of solid Gold, sell them but a little Quicksilver, or rather Smoak: and I think they may as well employ their Money in converting the *Poysoners*.

There is another thing that makes it very impolitick thus to throw away good Money on bad Converts, and that is what hath been observed to be the effect of this expenceful project in France; namely, that it makes the remaining part of the Adherents to their former Religion to be really the more strong, powerful and united. The Wine that was at first in colder weather preserved by the Lees in it, yet in the hotter season improves best by being rack'd off the Lee, and thus it is with the Adherents to a Religion, when in the heat of Persecution they are defecated from the viler part of its Numbers.

But yet on the other hand the Mercenary Religionists and Religion-traders, do grow impoverished with their very Gifts, and the vigour of their minds, and natural disposition to industry is thereby emasculated. I shall here once for all say, that by the word *Religion-Trade*, I intend no prophane reflection on Religion as 'tis in the Scripture sense, the calling of a Christian: but 'tis they that prophane it, who by prostituting that high Calling (as *St. Paul* styles it) to low and vile ends, do indeed miscall it, and occasion others to do so too. And indeed we are out of the Sacred Writ advertised of the Religion-Trade and Religion-Traders. *St. Peter* gives

the Alarm of *False Teachers*, that shall through *Covetousness* with feigned words make *Merchandise* of them: And one Chapter in the *Apocalypse*, as generally interpreted by Protestants, makes his pretended Successor to deal in the *Merchandise* of *Gold and Silver and Precious Stones, and Pearls, &c. and Slaves and Souls of Men*. And as in *Rome* at present, and long since, the only considerable Trade that is driven, is that of *Religion*, there being scarce any *Secular Merchants* there but *Jews*, and those too chiefly dealing in *Frippery*, so is the great Trade thence forced upon the World from the *Apostles See*, relating to the *Souls of Men*. 'Tis there the great *Bank* of *Souls* is kept, and the security of *Rome* is expos'd for that *Bank*, as that of the whole *City of Amsterdam* for its *Bank*, the which doth not more enrich the Merchants that deal with it by saving to them the expence of their time, and preventing their receiving of bad Money, then the other *Bank* of *Souls* doth impoverish its Merchants by defrauding some of their good Money, and others of their precious Souls by it, and by the lavish wasting of the time of others, and making them who embanked their Talents of good Natural Parts and Wit there, but in effect to wrap them up in a *Naphin*, and both by believing some of the Papal Tenets, and by being paid so much and no more for the same, and not providing for their Families as they might have better done by substantial and even Mechanical Trades, to be worse then *Infidels*.

'Tis but Natural to Suppose that a Man of two Trades will neither to any high Degree improve them, or his Estate by them, suitably to him who minds wholly one Trade: And the adventitious gain of a Man in any Profession, who is a *Religion-Trader* doth but entice him to the idleness whose effects render him unfortunate in both; and therefore I account that the See of *Rome*, unless it could pretend to infinity of Treasure, as well as Infallibility of Judgment, and whereby it might plentifully by Pensions tye all its *Devoti* only to the Religion Trade, loseth its Oyl and Labour in the largesses it affords Men of other Trades.

The prying People of *England*, next to their *Algebraing* out (as I may say) the *Authors of Murder*, have that Curiosity too to discover the ways by which any of their Neighbourhood do subsist, and when they knew them to have no Paternal Estates, nor to have acquired any by Marriages, or by Skill and Industry, and Success in their particular Professions, yet see them live with Equipage and Splendor, they often with Justice resolve the Cause of their Living so, into the Contributions they receive from the *Religion-Trade*: But yet 'tis a Familiar thing to observe that other Artists in the same Secular Calling with them are therein more diligent, and more dextrous, and more thriving, and too more frugal (as having that only to depend on for their Maintenance) then such Journey-men of *Rome* as are aided in their Expences by Contributions from Holy Church, by which the births of their Fortunes are thus in a manner over-laid.

Of trading Persons and Companies being undone by Donatives, and being diverted from necessity, compelling them to an excellence therein by their being provided with Golden Bridges to retreat from want and hard labour by, we have a remarkable instance in *Stow's Survey of London*, where he inserts the famous Will of Mr. John Kendrick Citizen and Draper of London, who dy'd in the year 1624, wherein he, for the advancement of the Woollen Manufacture in certain Country Corporations that were then and before Eminent for and by that Manufacture, bequeath'd great Sums of Money to them, as for Example, to *Redding* 7500 l. and 4000 l. to *Newbery*, and moreover ordered 500 l. to be lent gratis to the Clothiers of *Newbery* and *Redding*; but under the weight of that Charity

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of his their Trade was in the event really depressed, and many Merchants of *London* occasionally broke by that means.

And sutable to the Operation of the Religionary Trade and the other Secular one, impoverishing several of our Jesuited and other Lay-Papists, the late times gave us the Experience of several Tradesmen who being of a slothful disposition, thought it for their ease to get some little Salaries from the *State*, or voluntary Contributions from some of the Sectarian Populace to eek out their Maintenance, and that particularly under that great Idol *Oliver Cromwell*, who so fatally ruin'd the Trade of *England*, and resembling the Pope in being a *Cape Merchant* of *Souls*, was not undeservedly in the time of his Reign greeted in print by the Title of *Artizener* by a Reverend Divine of the Church of *England*, the which was applyed to *Oliver* in the Title of the Book, and he it was that begger'd the Nation, and then taught it to Cant; and then did that *Pharoah* otherwise then in a *Dream* make the *lean Cattle* of Canting Words and Phrases devour the *Fat* of the Land, and much of solid improvement, even in Mechanical Arts and Sciences, and then it was that various *Clanns* or Corporations of *Canterers* only by being such, Monopolis'd the Preferments of Church and State, and few were admitted to *prattique* there but such who had the Plague, and were as idlers, pests to the Kingdom, and who had *Embanked* their Souls in that great Religionary *Bank* of his setting up: And yet then those adherents of his that sold the *Wind* of inspiration were in comparison of the substantial other Traders, who soly depended on excelling in their particular Trade, as poor almost as the *Lap-landers* who sell other Winds.

But that which is much more *Momentous* than the impoverishing of all these Particular *Religion-Traders*, and even the diminution of Trade in general, ensuing the profusion of profit by donations on the account of Religion, is that Religion it self is hereby impoverished, and its most vital part Sincerity hereby in danger to be exterminated. For as 'tis a thing well known to *Merchants* and *Goldsmiths* and *Mint-Masters*, that if the *Par* (as they call it) or exact *Proportion* between Gold and Silver be not observ'd in any Country, either the Gold will carry all the Silver out of it, or the Silver all the Gold; so it may be affirm'd too, That if there be not a *Par* or *Proportion* observ'd as to Religion and Profit or *Wealth*, either the Religion of a Country will carry out all the profit or *Proventus* of it, or the profit will carry out or exterminate Religion. I will not therefore here *Prophecy* that the World will never, but say that it can never be fixed in a quiet and orderly State, and free from the Importunity and Sedition of Hypocrites till its Present State be such that Men can neither get nor lose by Religion: And till the World recovers this Golden Age, namely, that Gold cannot carry out our Religion, (and People us with Hypocrites) or our Religion Gold, the World will be but a great disorderly House and scarce worth any Mans being Monarch over it.

As the *Irish* call their last *Rebellion* by the name of the *Commotion*, so some have happen'd to call the Present State of Peoples Minds in *England* which is so disorderly by the name of a *Fermentation*, and this *Fermentation* can never be over in our *Englisch* World, till there shall here be neither profit or loss by Religion, and that no Man shall be more or less Rich by more or less Combining with any Party, to cry up or decry any Religionary Tenets or Propositions.

One would wonder that since Religion, and particularly the Christian, with its *Credenda* doth Crown the reason of Man, and likewise annex by
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the exuberance of the Divine benignity a Crown of Glory hereafter to the Believers, that any Men should for their belief of Propositions not contrary to reason, and wherein the credit of the propounder was supported by Miracles, expect to be rewarded in this World, a *humour* that hath been regnant even among Christians, from the time of our Saviour's being on Earth to the present Age, and a *humour* that so poyson'd the *Jews* of old, that they thought it not *Tanti* to have their minds freed from the slavery to Error, unless the *Messias* would have deliver'd them from the servitude of the *Romans* (and because he did not, and did decline the being made an Earthly King when the *Jews* with their *Hosannas* were tempting him to it, they Accused him Capitally for saying *That he was a King*, whenas it was not he, but they that said it, and they put him to Death *revera* because his Kingdom was not of this World) and a *humour* that would not quit the Stage when the first Christians did, but boldly still faced the World, as appears by the notion of the *Millennium* having been so much applauded by all the *Fathers* of the Church and the Christians before the first *Nicene* Council.

But methinks from the Example of the Christians of old who did *Ambire Martyrium* to such a degree that St. Gregory saith, *Let God number our Martyrs, for to us they are more in number then the Sands* (as if the work had been too hard for another *Archimedes* with his *Arenarius* to Calculate the number of the Martyr'd Christians, and one Author accounts that, excepting on the first of *January*, there is no day for which *Records* do not allow 500 *Martyrs* at least, and that for most days they allow 900, and who did ennoble the *Christian* Religion, by shewing to the World an Example of Contempt of Death, and even of Life beyond that of the Ancient *Romans*) I say from the Example of those Christians who did in shoals dye daily for their Religion, *Ours* may, if they please, be taught the modestly not to expect daily livelihoods from it, and to account they have very fair play if they do not lose their livelihoods by it.

'Tis moreover observable that under the *Jewish Theocracy* Providence had then so ordered things, that no Man should get or lose by Religion. The *Tribes* had then their shares of the good Land by *lott*, and the *Levites* only had that affluent proportion of the *Proventus* of the other Tribes that I have before Calculated, and which would have tempted many of the other Tribes to have march'd over to the *Officium* and *Beneficium* of the Priesthood, had not God their *Monarch* provided against that, by the confinement of the Administration of the Priesthood to one *Tribe*, and its descendents by natural generation.

But as to the notion of getting or losing by Religion, I shall recommend to your *Lordships* reading a small Pamphlet printed in two sheets of Paper in *Folio*, and call'd *The great Question to be consider'd by the King and this Parliament, &c.* to wit, *How far Religion is concern'd in Policy or Civil Government, and Policy in Religion, &c.* On the disquisition of which a sufficient Basis is proposed for the firm settlement of these Nations to the most probable satisfaction of the several Parties and Interests therein, and subscribed by the name of Philo-Britanicus.

Who the Author of it was I cannot learn, but do easily find by the Book that he is a Man of great *Acumen* of thought, and that Matters of Religion and State, especially relating to this Kingdom, have been very much thought of by him, and that the Author was certainly neither *Papist* nor *Presbyterian*, and so far from being a favourer of the Church of *England* that he doth *interminis* make the publick Maintenance of the Clergy to have been the *Bone of Contention* in these Nations, p. 8. and there

there faith, It will be found to stand on the same foot with *Abbies and Monasteries* and their Lands, and there further as a propounder would give all the Church-Lands to the Crown, and the Tithes to the People; and then tells us, That all Fears and Jealousies and Animosities on the account of Religion, will be pluck'd up by the Roots. That Author in p. the 5th doth very acutely observe, That Popery hath two Parts, the one is that which is meerly Religious, that is which relates properly to Religion or Conscience, and which is peculiar to them, such as the believing of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Adoration of Saints and Images, yea, and the superiority of the Bishop of Rome over other Churchmen, all which and those of this kind may be believed and professed without prejudice to Civil Society, and as being matters relating to Conscience come not properly under the Magistrates Cognizance: the other part is the opinion of the Pope's Power over Princes and States, his absolving the people from their Obedience, his giving them dispensations to kill Princes and destroy them, and allowing them not to keep faith to Hereticks and such like, which as they are destructive to Government, are truly no part of Religion, but a politick contrivance, long hatch'd by the Bishop of Rome and his dependants for the establishing to himself a firm Monarchy in the World, and therefore ought to be guarded against and punished by the Magistrate, not as errors in Religion, but as destructive to the Government.

The Author of *Omnia comesta à Belo* as great a Calculator as he would go for, was yet but a Blunderer in respect of the Author of this discourse, in which there is so much smoothness of words and plausibleness of notion, that if it were possible he would deceive some of the very Elect, and that too, of their Established Maintenance.

But whatever the Sentiments of that Author were, I must affirm that as ample as the Revenue of the Church of England shews, if compared with that of other Protestant Countries, it is yet so far from excess in its proportion as to ward off all inconveniences from the State of mens getting by Religion.

The over ballance of Land here was so much on the Churches side in the times of Popery, that it was then in our *Provincial Constitutions* fulminated as a Menace to the Layety that in case of some particular Contumacy, none of their Children should be admitted into the Clerical Calling for three Generations.

But how Nugatory would such a threatening now be! There are few or none of the inferiour Clergy, but might have in interiour Callings arrived at greater Incomes and with less charge of Education, and the most envied of our dignified Clergy might in the other two of the great professions, viz. in Law and Physick raised their Estates and Families on better and easier terms than they now can.

And that the Men of the most eminent natural parts would be losers by Religion, I mean by the Clerical Profession but for the encouragement of these Dignities, we have an indication from the quality of the Divines in the late times, who were generally so unlearned, that Learning it self then seemed to have retreated from our Universities to the Colledge of Physicians in London. Notwithstanding the great Sums of Money by the Usurp'd Powers employ'd in the Augmentations of Livings, one may well suppose that all of the 10000 Livings in England except 600 needed, for that was the number of the Livings in England as before said averr'd to have afforded a Competent maintenance for a Minister, the dearth of Learning and Learned Men still continued, insomuch that the teeming press then brought forth few Learned Discourses, relating to the faculty of Theology but what was published by Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Sanderfon and some other

Divines born and bred in the Sunshine of the Church of *England*.

And I do believe that in *Holland* the Livelihoods for their Parochial *Divines*, are better then those that our Livings at a *Medium* yield, especially considering that the *Dutch* Ministers Widdows have 40 *l.* a year paid them during their Viduity: but for want of such encouragement as our *Dignities* afford for the Educating their Natives in Learning, they are constrained as Mr. *Philip Nye* observes in his Book called *Beams of former light*, p. 152. To send to Forraign Parts to men to be their Professors in their Academies.

And I account that nothing less then the hopes of being *Dignitaries*, could in the flourishing condition of the Church of *England* make so many of our Learned *Divines* take up with the poor generality of our Livings, which are such that the *Answer to the Abstract* published by Authority in the Year 1588, mentions in p. 27, That surely if a Survey were taken of all Parish Churches and Parochial Chappels in England, I dare affirm that it would fall out that there be double or treble as many more Livings allotted for Ministers under the true value of 30 *l.* a year, ultra omnia onera & reprisas, as are at this Rate. And that our *Divines* in the late Times look'd on such a yearly Sum as an uncomfortable pittance for a Minister, we have an instance in the Story told in a *History* of the late Times in *Print*, where a Patron desiring one to recommend to him a godly man for a Living of 50 *l.* a year he then had void, was answered, That a godly man could not be had to accept of a Living of so small a value.

It is moreover a lamentable thing to consider what an *Excisum* hath been put on the value, even of our poor Livings, by the Simoniackal Practices of Lay-Patrons: and in their hands the greatest part of the Improvements hath been computed to be.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* a Famous Parliament-man of the last Age, in a Speech of his in behalf of the Clergy, spoke in Parliament and Printed at Oxford, Anno 1628, speaks there of the Scandalous Livings we have of 5 *l.* and 5 Mark a year, and Cites Bishop *Jewel* for complaining in a Sermon before Queen *Elizabeth*, That the Simony of our Lay-Patrons, was general throughout England, and that a Gentleman cannot keep his House unless he have a Parsonage or two in farm for his Provision.

And how generally a Simoniackal disposition hath continued to infect our Gentry, appears by the vile Bonds that have been so much by Lay-Patrons imposed on the Ministers they presented, viz. to resign their Livings again to them at pleasure; and it is for the lasting Glory of the Lord Chancellor, that he hath in Court declared that he will on occasion Null all Bonds of that sort, and no doubt but the accidental encrease of the poverty of the Gentry, which hath tempted them to sell the same Land twice, and to sell the same Living once, will tend to the encrease of Simony.

Moreover when it shall be considered, that the Case of a Minister is such, that tho Lay-men are secured by the Great Charter from being punished for Contempt of the King's Commands, otherwise then with the saving of their Contenement and Free-hold, yet that he holding *Virtute Officii* is lyable by the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, even for those things that in the Layety are no offences to be deprived of the Free-hold, that the Law supposed him as Parson or Vicar to possess, and that he by the Artifice of the said Bonds, hath had the benefit of his Free-hold, in effect during the Patrons *Beneficium*; and further, that every New Political Conjunction threatens him with New Subscriptions from the Magistrate, and New Nic-names from the *Mobile*, and that on any change of Religion, he is sure to be put in the forlorn

forlorn hope; and that he tho' continually thinking of *Divinity*, which is his profession, hath not yet that freedom to speak all his Sentiments of the controverted part of it, which a Lay-man enjoys, and that he is still exposed by constant thinking to prey on the Membranes of his own Brain to find Notions for senseless people, methinks after he has all his life before, been constrain'd to take these bitter Pills as they are in themselves, none should repine at their being gilded for him in his declining age: and if among *Ten thousand* of these, *twenty six* shall in their old Age have the Revenue of Bishops, and *five hundred* of *Prebends* after so many shall have drawn *Blanks* in the Lottery of Preferment, those few that shall draw those *Prizes*, need not be envied for what they have acquired by the Theological Profession.

It was both with Justice and Prudence by our Laws caution'd that so great a part of the Clerical Maintenance should arise from *Tithes*. For by that means our *Clergy* are engaged to make the interest of their Country and its improvement their own; and had they not had so much of their maintenance founded on *Tithes*, but on Money out of the *Exchequer*, as they had before this time lost excessively by Religion, so Religion would have lost their Calling: for that the price of Silver falling by the plenty of it, and the plenty or encrease of our people making all the Products of our Country dearer, it hath been advantageous to our Clergy to receive their *Tithes* in kind, as it hath been to Colleges to receive a *Quota* of their *Rent* in *Corn*.

But that still the maintenance of the inferior Clergy, was too mean, will appear even by the late Enemies of our Hierarchy being Judges, for Mr. Nye in that Book of his, called *Beams of former Light*, having spoke of the Ministers Calling, being once a gainful one, saith p. 123. *It is utterly otherwise now, not but that there is a very liberal Maintenance appertaining to Ministers and greater by the bounty of the Honourable Parliament, when the Preaching Ministry have formerly enjoyed.*

The gradual encrease of our People and Trade, hath proportionably encreased the Clerical Revenue which on the beginning of the Reformation was presently sunk, so that *Latimer* in his Sermon before *Edward the 6th* said, *We of the Clergy have had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little*; and what *Jewel* in his Sermon notified to Queen *Elizabeth* of that kind, I have mention'd, and so languid was the State of the maintenance of the Inferior Clergy in her time, that She by one of her Printed Ecclesiastical Injunctions, *Annō 1599.* did under great Penalties, forbid all Priests and Deacons to Marry any Woman without the Advice and Allowance first had by the Bishop of the Diocese and two Justices of Peace, which I suppose was caution'd by the Queen, that the many Ministers who had not competent Livings to maintain themselves, might not marrying Wives without Dowries, by new Births, encrease the number of *Paupers* in Parishes.

It is observable, that in the late times the *Jesuites* did publish many Pamphlets in Print against *Tithes*, and did animate the people to make Tumultuary Addresses to the Usurpers to abolish that maintenance of the Ministers, wherein as their *Politicks* were so unjust to our Monarch, that had they succeeded, they would have barricaded the way for his return in the minds of too many of the People for fear that the payment of *Tithes* should return too, so likewise were they so ridiculous by cutting off all hopes of the return of Popery here in any Conjunction of time, that less than an Army of *Bellarmines* would never have perswaded the common People to hear with patience any talk of *Holy Church's* re-establishment here.

Tho,

Tho, as I have shewn, that *Tithes* by reason of the equality in the Imposition of them, and the diuturnity of time that hath habituated People to the payment thereof, are a gentle part of the Yoke of our Ecclesiastical Government, yet if the payment of them or any other Tax, whether of *Excise*, *Customs*, or *Chimney-money* were for many years discontinued, there would be no probability of bringing either the old Stagers or new Comers in the World to consent or hearken to their being re-established.

The Critical Observers of the *Jewish State*, after Ten Tribes had made a Schism from the other two, judge that there were two *Conjunctures* of time, wherein their piecing together was feasible, and that the great true Cause in Nature that hindred the Re-union of the Tribes, was the aversion in the Ten Tribes to make three chargeable Journeys yearly to *Jerusalem*, and to pay a double Tenth yearly out of their Estates (besides Offerings and other Casualties to the Priests and Levites) from which trouble and charge they had been relaxed by *Jeroboam*, and by his Model of Idolatry: and therefore the People having most inclination to that Religion that was cheapest, and knowing that if they return'd to their old Religion, they must likewise return to their old Payments to the Priests and Levites, did venture to adhere to the cheaper *Golden Calf*: and had the *Jesuites* here effected from the Usurpt Powers the Abolition of the Clergies *Tithes*, which would have made the Return of the Church of *England* so difficult, I may well argue that it would have made the Return of the Papal Religion, and its chargeable Idolatry impossible, whose Yoke of Payments neither we nor our Forefathers were able to fear.

But when senseless *Fanaticks* came with those *Petitions* against *Tithes*, the more sagacious of the Usurpers knew that the *hand of Joab* was in them, and they knew that hardly any Observation was more true then that Popery gained ground, chiefly in the poorer parts of the Kingdom, where the despicable maintenance made the Ministry so too, and where too the Pope would no more hunt for Converts then among the poor *Norwegians*, but that it was of use to him to have the number of his *Subjects* increas'd in any poor places in a rich Kingdom, where he tho a spiritual King might yet call his *Subjects* to Fight.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard takes notice of *Popery's* being an intruder among the poor Benefices of the North, in the Speech before Cited, and there saith, p. 1. That to plant good Ministers in good Livings, is the strongest and surest means to establish true Religion, and will prevail more against Popistry then the making of new Laws, and executing the old, and there p. 3. relates what King James had done for the supporting of the Protestant Religion in Scotland, where (saith he) within the space of one year, he caused to be Planted Churches throughout that Kingdom, the High-Lands and the Borders worth 30 l. a year a piece, with a House and some glebe-Land belonging to them, which 30 l. a year considering the cheapness of that Country is worth double as much as any where within an 100 Miles of London. And p. 7. he mentions some Passages of Bishop Jewels Sermon before Queen Elizabeth, where the Bishop having in general reflected on those that then caused the diminution of the maintenance of Ministers, he further saith, howsoever they seem to rejoyce at the prosperity of Sion, and to seek the safety and preservation of the Lords Anointed, yet needs must it be that by these means Forraign Power, of which this Realm by the mercy of God is happily delivered, shall again be brought in upon us. Such things shall be done to us as we before suffer'd in the times of Popery, &c.

'Twas there before mention'd how that Man of God with a flame of Zeal, reflected in these words on the Queen her self, Our posterities shall rue that

that ever such Fathers went before them, and Chronicles shall report this Contempt of learning among the Plagues and Murraings and other Punishments of God; they shall leave it written in what time, and under whose reign this was done.

If the good Bishop had considered the vastness of Queen Elizabeth's Expences before mention'd, in defending the Protestant Cause, *contra gentes*, he would have given her day to have built and endowed some Churches; and to those expences before mention'd, it comes into my memory here to add what I then forgot, which is related in the *Travels* of Mr. Fines Moryson, who was Secretary then to the Chief Governor of Ireland in her Reign, viz. That she expended in 4 years time on that Kingdom, a Million and one Hundred Ninety Eight Thou'and Pound Sterling; which Sum so laid out then on Ireland, will seem the more considerable, when by a late Report of the Counsel of Trade in that Kingdom drawn by Sir W. P. The currant Cash of that Kingdom is made to be but Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pound Sterling.

But this by the way, and to resume my discourse of our Clergies neither getting nor losing by Religion; I shall say that as the acceptable free restoration of the Church as well as the Crown to its Lands, shewed that there was no fear of its injuring the Ballance of the Kingdom, or hurting Religion by its weight, so hath the following acquiescence of all dis-interested men in the same, evinced that weight to be no gravamen.

In a Pamphlet called a *Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country*, Printed in the Year 1675, generally supposed to be writ by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and which asserts the Justice of the Declaration of Indulgence, the Author in p. 5. speaking of the Church of England, becoming the head of the Protestants at home and abroad, saith, *For that place is due to the Church of England being in favour and of nearest approach to the most powerful Prince of that Religion, and so always had it in their hands to be the Intercessors and Procurers of the greatest good and protection that Party throughout all Christendom can receive. And thus the Archbishop of Canterbury might become not only alterius orbis, but alterius Religionis Papa, and all this Addition of Honour and Power attain'd without the least loss or diminution of the Church: it not being intended that one Dignity or Preferment should be given to any, but those that were strictly conformable.*

The natural inclination in all ingenious Men not to cast an evil Eye on the Church Revenue, appears in Mr. Marvel's Second Part of the *Rehearsal* transpos'd, p. 146. where he saith, *I am so far from thinking enviously of the Revenue of the Church of England, &c. That I think in my Conscience it is all but too little, and wish with all my heart that there could be some way found out to augment it.*

And our ingenious and great Lord Chancellor Bacon, in his certain Considerations touching the pacification of the Church of England, hath with great equity decreed our Parliaments to be in some sort indebted to the Church.

Moreover that Gentlemanly way of writing used by our great Divines, in a late Conjunction against Popery, and so suitable to the refinement of Wit and Reason in the Age, and wherein without the Pedantry of unnecessary Words or Quotations, or raising a dust out of the Learned Rubbish of the Schoolmen, they generally with a manly Style and clear reason and skill at that weapon got the Sword out of their Enemies hand by the *Argumentum ad hominem*, and shewed us that Popery and Implicit Faith were not Calculated for the Meridian of this Age, hath (I think) made all ingenious Men Conformists in this opinion, that if their Genius had been cram'd with the *res angusta domi*, their thoughts had not in their Books

appeared so great, and therefore I hope that all the well writ *works of their hands, and seasonable discourses against Popery* at that time when it was ready to curse us, and to rise up against our Religion, will make all thinking Protestants to say *Amen* to that Prayer of Moses, *Bless O Lord Levi's substance, accept the work of his hands: smite through the Loyns of them that hate him, that they rise not again.*

It will I doubt not appear to rational and thinking men, that our little interloping Churches or Congregations that set up with their precarious Power, and small stock of Learning or Revenue, will no more be able to break the great Compacted Body of the Papal Church, that hath the *Monopoly* of the *Religion-Trade* in so many parts of the World, then a few interloping Merchant-men to break the Opulent *Dutch East-India Company*, who have engross'd so much of the Spices of the World, that sometimes they cause several Ships loadings of them to be at once consumed, as knowing what quantity, and no more will be useful to the World. And somewhat like that thing too, the Polity of the *Anglican Church* in *Harry the 8th's* time perform'd while it drove a *Religion-Trade* with *Rome*, and yet consumed a great quantity of its superfluous Merchandize, and the same thing hath been done by our National Church, as to remaining parts of the *Romish Superstition* in succeeding times, and indeed *Superstition* which is a kind of *Nimety* of Religion, is so incident to Humane Nature, and is so destructive to the Polity of Churches, and the substantial Commerce of Nations, that it is worthy the Power and Care of Nations to consume it.

And considering that the Church of *Rome* hath still valued it self for being *terribilis sicut castrorum acies ordinata*, it is a vain thing to contend with such a Regular Church Militant, without our having of general Officers, and as exact a Conduct, or to think to have such Officers without Honourable Maintenance from the Publick: *For none doth go a Warfare at any time at his own charge.*

When I think how in the *Primitive* times, while a Cloud of Persecution was always over the head of the Christians, that yet they strain'd themselves so much in Contributions for the Pastorage of their Souls, that all the Pastors then were so far from losing by Religion, that some were tempted to that Office for *filthy Lucre* (as we may see out of *Peter Ep. 1. Ch. 5. Vers. 2.*) tho yet too so little comparatively was to be gain'd by all thereby, that others probably undertook that Office *by constraint*, as the same *place* intimates, and that therein the *Apostolick* Prudence was conspicuous in ordering it upon the whole matter, that the generality of Pastors then should not get or lose by Religion, I may reasonably conclude that we who live in the flourishing and prosperous State of Christianity, ought to provide that the meanest Pastor of Souls in *England*, may live competently and decently by that Office: and for my part I shall never give my voice for any ones serving in Parliament, that will not be willing to move for the discharge of the Debt to the *Clergy* before mention'd, as soon as the State of the Kingdom will bear it.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* in his aforesaid *Speech* p. 3. mentioning the danger we are in of being upbraided by the Papists, for being willing to serve God with somewhat that would cost us nothing, hath a saying that I have often heard Cited in discourse as anothers; namely, *He that thinks to save any thing by Religion, but his Soul, will be a loser in the end.*

And this Notion of his of not saving by Religion, doth fortifie my affirmation of the publick inconvenience accruing by the getting by it, as to which I have so opened the present State of the *Clergies* maintenance in *England*, as to represent them rather losers then gainers. When

When 'tis considered how many there are in *England* of the *Layety*, who gape for gain by Religion, and are ready to devour one another for it, as well as Religion by it, I am sure none can with reason think the *Quota* of the *Clergy's* Maintenance, should be such as in the time of the prosperity of the State to render them losers.

How scandalous and how ridiculous, nay, how ridiculous by Poverty it self, many of our Lay-Popish and Protestant *Religion-Traders* have been, I have already evinced; and do suppose that nothing can *blacken* that Trade in the fancies of the People, more then the discovery of the *Traders*, who must needs appear more odious then they who are the Mercenary Brokers, for the debasing of Humane Nature by Lust, since the Hypocritical Religion-Traders do for Rewards prostitute the Honour of their Creator, and as much as they can make the Divine Nature subservient to the diabolical Art of their Hypocrisy.

Before the late Market for Converts in *France*, I have not heard or read of any Nation in the World, wherein great Parcels of the Layety have gain'd Mony by Religion, but only in *England*.

I believe that in *Amsterdam* (whereas *Des Cartes* saith in one of his Epistles, *Nemo non mercaturam exercet*) there is not one Religion-Trader, tho yet all Religions are there tolerated. Nor yet is any Lay-man of that Trade in *Paris* who is of any other.

And in the Policy of the *Turkish* Empire, 'tis provided for as a *Fundamental*, that nothing shall be there acquired by Religion; insomuch that all that Emperor's Subjects as well as himself being by their Law enjoyn'd to be able to practice some *Manual Trade*, when any are call'd out to discharge the Office of Priests, or Celebrators of the Publick Religious Worship there, such exact Care is taken, that they shall get by the exercise of that Office, just so much and no more, as they did by their *Manual Trade*: for which purpose, an Excellent Person who was the King's *Ambassador* at *Constantinople*, related to me, That he complaining to the *Viser* of some injury done by a *Turkish* Priest to one of his Servants, the *Viser* deprived him of that Holy Employment, and that the Priest being afterward sent to Petition to be restored to his place, he answered, that he would not, being as well content to work on in the Mechanick Trade, to the exercise whereof he was returned since his said deprivation.

But this Trade and sort of Traders that hath so long pester'd our Kingdom, is now about to expire and dye a natural death, and which it could not before be brought to do by a violent. And as the Trade of sturdy Beggars, the which is as much a Trade and as much conducted by Laws among themselves, as is any incorporate one that hath the stamp of the Great Seal, could by no Legislation be extinguished, but would soon be so by people's voluntary forbearing to be their Contributors, thus too will this *sturdy* Religion-Trade have its Period. Our Fifth Monarchy-men who thought to inherit the earth without giving sixteen years Purchase for it, and who pretended to follow the *Lamb wheresoever he went*, but really out of dreams of a golden Fleece, are by all exploded: The condition of *Britannia languens*, and that too very much occasion'd by the former insolence of the Papists, being understood at *Rome*, will make the old *Gentleman* there think 'tis vain for him to hope to be possess'd of the Abby Lands without giving for them many Millions of Pounds *Sterling*, and the Papists here will I believe so soon penetrate into the present State of our Poverty, that they will find no way effectual for the delivering them from the vexatious Prosecutions of Protestant Informers, but the Removal of that decay of Trade, and general dearth of many that has necessitated so many to be *Informers*,
and

and who cause them to spend upon *under Sheriffs* more Money then they save by not being *high Sheriffs*, and which decay of Trade hath sunk a 4th part of the value of their Lands, and which can never be cured but by the dissolution of the Religionary one; and finding the Credit of the *Jesuites* Society crack'd, as I have before express'd, will find that their *Journeymen Calumniators* (as Mr. *Sergeant* calls them in a Paper of his I have seen) must necessarily *break too*, and it being found that not only our *Enthusiasts* are forced by necessity of Nature to desist from expecting any gain by Religion, but all Protestants whatsoever, the Popish-Traders therein will be the more content to give over one of their Trades, and the fate of them will be like that of the Associated *Jesuites*, to march out of their Spiritual Corporations insensibly, like the captious *Scribes* and *Pharises* in the Gospel, of whom 'tis there said, *Being convicted in their own Consciences, they went out one by one beginning at the eldest even to the last, &c.*

Tho as I said no man in *Holland* doth get or lose by Religion, yet since the Reformation there was a Controversy of Religion, I mean the *Arminian* one which made an extraordinary fermentation in their State, and which Controversy tho *Knaves* there frighted *Fools* with, as if it were stirred by the *Remonstrants*, with an intent to bring in Popery; yet the knowing few easily understood that neither side of the *Question* could produce that effect, and they likewise understood that the profession of the belief of the several opposite Points of that Controversie among the opposite Parties there, serv'd only as *Ribbands* of several colours, to distinguish Parties that are against each other in Arms.

And yet that very great Controversie in Religion, which divided *Holland* and distracted our Kingdom in the time of the Royal Martyr, and the substance of which perplexed the *Tribæresia* of the *Jews*, the *Saduces*, *Essenes* and *Pharises*, and likewise three sorts of Christians, the *Pelagians*, *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, and that of old divided the Sects of the Philosophers, and hath many years rag'd among the *Turks*, and likewise among the *Jesuites* and *Dominicans*, after its having for so many thousand years troubled so many Millions of Mankind, seems lately to be retired to its Eternal Rest, and the sullen World seems resolved to hear and read no more of it, and none I believe will get or lose any secular profit by his Sentiments in that Controversie; and 'tis probable that the Controvertible part of Popery may thus go silently out of the Company of People in this Kingdom, and without so much as troubling us by taking a formal leave, give rest to it self and us, and that none will in this our World get or lose by that part of Popery that can properly claim to be call'd a Religion.

I have usually in this *Discourse* call'd it an *Hypothesis* or *Supposition*, which I chose rather to do then to call the entire Body of it a Religion, which I know that it is not and cannot be, and that Popery and the former *Scotch* Presbytery, and *Socinianism* are not in the gross call'd Religions otherwise then κατ' ἀσίστησιν.

I will not quarrel with Papists for calling some Points before mentioned, wherein Disputants will be still playing with the Dye of Controversie, by the Name of Religion, and I will give tho not grant them my Content for applying that Name, to the believing that the *Pope* is the *Principium Unitatis*, and there are not many Propositions in the *Chronologia hæresum, sectarum & schismatum*, and in the *Hæresiographis* that many have Publish'd, that I would think a man to have *læsa principia* that did call Tenets of Religion; and there are in Popery many things enjoyn'd, that tho I look on as needless impositions and new inventions, for the diverting the Melancholy, I shall not gainsay any one that shall call Religion and represent them

them as of *Apostolical* Practice, tho the birth of many of them was *reverted* but of yesterday.

And thus let the mixing of Water with Wine in the Eucharist, and the fasting on *Friday*, Pilgrimages to the Sepulchres of Martyrs, the Priests using a low voice in Consecration, and let the Canonization of Saints, the institution of *Saturday* Mass in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, the invention of the Red Hatts and Scarlet Cloaks worn by Cardinals, the Institution of the year of Jubily, the Popes every year Consecrating a *Rose* of Gold, the sound of the Bell at the hour of Mid day, the *Rosary* of the Virgin *Mary*, and likewise the Baptization of Bells, be all baptised with the name of Religion, and many Notions and Practices likewise more peculiar to Popery.

And tho the denomination of things is from the better part, as Mines are said to be of Lead, or Silver, &c. from the quantity of the Metal there most valuable, and so I can be content to call a Complication of Tenets of which some are erroneous by the name of a Religion, yet in any *Systeme* of Religion or Confession, that may happen to appear in the World more pure and exact then the *Augustane*, or the *Helvetian*, or the *Saxonic*, the *Gallie*, or *English*, or *Belgic*, or *Bohemian*, and more accommodate to the true sense of the *Councils* and *Fathers*, and the best *Expositors* then the former, and containing more satisfactory explanations about the propagation and entrance of *Original Sin*, the Nature, Order and Offices of *Angels*, and of the Consistency both of Gods immutable Decrees, with the Contingency of second Causes, and of the Efficacy of God's Grace, with the freedom of Mans Will, and of the Time, Place and Antecedents of the last Judgment, one single Notion relating but to a Commandment of the second Table, incorporated with such a *Confession* of Faith, would make the applying the Name of Religion to the whole to be very ridiculous and nauseous, and make it more fit in the gross to be called a *Confession* of *Faction*, or of *Conspiracy* against Mankind; and any one will think so if that one Article should be thus inserted, *And we further think it commendable at some Seasons of the year, to kill the next man we shall meet.* And yet as harshly as this sounds, there is that in Popery and likewise in the Doctrine of the *Resistance* of *Princes* contrary to the *Municipal* Laws, that doth hear worse, and that is tho not a justification of the killing the next man to be met with, the effect of which would yet make men excite their natural Courage and fortifie it with skill, and be provided with good Arms, whereby to be always ready to defend their Country (just as the *Spartan* Law of punishing no man for *Theft* that was not taken in the Fact, made men more vigilant in the Custody of their Goods) namely, the killing Multitudes of the best men that can be culled and singled out of the *sex* of Mankind, and such of whom the *World* is not worthy, in so much that we are told by *Asted* in his *Chronologia testium veritatis*, that *ab Anno 1540, usque ad Annum 1580, Novies centena millia Christianorum in Belgio, Gallia, Anglia, Italia & Hispania, Religionis Causâ trucidata sunt: atque inter eos fuerunt, 235 Barones, 148 Comites, 39 Principes, and the killing of Ten thousand Subjects next met, would not be so destructive to Kingdoms as the killing of one King, for according to the computation and the Style of the Scripture, he is worth Ten thousand of us.*

My Lord Arch-bishop *Laud* in his Famous Speech in the *Star-Chamber* p. 32, 33, &c. Answers some Mens Charge of Innovation against our *Liturgy*, as to the Prayers set forth for the 5th of *November*, and ordered (they say) to be read by *Act* of Parliament where one passage was, *Cut off those workers of Iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion*; and in the Book

Printed 1635. 'tis thus alter'd, *Cut off those workers who turn Religion into Rebellion.*

His Grace in the p. 36. there weighs the Consequences of avowing that the Popish Religion is Rebellion: and in the next p. saith, *That if you make their Religion to be Rebellion, then you make their Religion and their Rebellion to be all one.*

But in my poor opinion several of the great Points of their Religion so called, as even *transubstantiation* it self and many others, are not to be term'd *Rebellion*, but other points before mentioned can properly be term'd nothing else, and when all those Tenets are so complicated by them, that they do all conjoynly integrate their Religion, then is there pretended Religion, when really believed, and practised, a real Rebellion.

The best advice therefore that I can give to a Papist is that of the old Philosopher *ἁλῶν σαυτὸν*, *simplifica te ipsum*, and that of a Jewish Rabbi, *Come de dactylos, & projice foras duritiem*. The World is a weary of seeing any men joyn what God and Nature have parted: and of their projecting a *Communion between Christ and Belial*, and making *Christ the Minister of Sin*, as the Scripture expression is.

A great Master of *Mechanics* and of all sorts of refined Learning some years since brought to light the Invention of the *double bottom'd Vessel*, and a rude Description of it, being sent me for News into the Country, I easily guessed that such a Ship bearing much more Sail then other Ships, must needs go a great deal faster before the Wind; but I was not inform'd of the Provision that the excellent Artist had made against the danger of *Divulsion*; it being obvious that in some Tempests 'tis as much as one entire body can do to preserve it self against the fury of the Sea.

This hath been the condition of Popery with its *double bottom* of Principles, namely, to bear a great wide spreading Sail, and it has heretofore in a quiet World sail'd apace before the Wind and in fair weather, but the Tempestuous Debates its Principles have rais'd here and abroad in the Sea of the People, have made this old *double bottom'd Ship* of St. Peter in such danger of *Divulsion* that especially with such *Pauls* Marriners as it employs, it can hardly escape.

I doubt not but the Papists as well as others of Mankind, have a Right and Title to the free and undisturb'd worshiping of God and the Confession of the Principles of Religion, purchased for them by the *Blood of Christ*: for Religion being Mens Priviledge as well as Duty (just as the Romans did account that they endowed any place with a Priviledge when they gave them their Laws) they may thank their great Redeemer for being restor'd to it. By the vertue of his *Blood*, the *Papists* stand seiz'd of a good and indefeisable estate of *Christian Liberty*, and they are bought with a Price, and are therefore not to be the Servants of Men, and one is their Master even *Christ, who is the Lord that bought them*, and they are therefore to stand fast in the liberty wherewith *Christ* hath made them free.

Socinus saith, he went on his Knees to God to find out the meaning of the 58th V. of the 8th of St. John. And should I chance to over hear any one Member of Mankind at his Private Devotions, and importuning Heaven to illuminate his mind with the knowledge of some point in Religion, that he conceived necessary to his Salvation, and acknowledging it to the praise of the Divine Goodness, that excited him to the use of all means whereby to discover it, that he had so far through the Efficacy of assisting Grace practised the Truths, his understanding was possess'd with as to satisfy his mind that he was a serious Suppliant for its being the depositary of more, I should be so far from wishing this man delivered over to Satan, from differing for me in any controverted

troverted Point of Religion, that I should think that if the truth he was in quest of; imported his Salvation, God would send an *Angel* to explain it to him.

But as to one part of the *double bottom* of Popery, tho we should grant it laden with fundamental truths, yet 'tis notorious that the other is overladen with Fundamental Errors, and such as are apt to undermine the Foundations of States and Kingdoms, and there is no need of an extraordinary Messenger from Heaven to tell one embarked therein, that the *Pope* is not to absolve Subjects from the obedience of their Princes, nor to cause an eternal fermentation and inquietude in the World, through his Kingdom, (that should not be of it at all) yet being unbutted and unbounded by him in all the parts of it.

I will likewise tell any *Socinian* that his great Master *Socinus* made such a *double bottom* of his *Systeme* of Notions, that it hath forfeited its right to the Name of Religion by one *Tenet* complicated therewith, and that he ought to throw that off and *simplificare se ipsum*. Let any one if he pleaseth call the *Socinians* denying of the Trinity in Unity, and Original Sin, and the Baptism of Infants, or the Divine Prescience, and many other of their Notions by the Name of Religion; but there is own of their *Tenets* that their Master needed no long wrestling with Heaven as a Suppliant to find out the truth of, and which Notion when really believed is as pernicious to Crown'd Heads and their Subjects, as the lawfulness of any ones sometime killing the next man he meets, and that is, that my Prince and I may not defend our lives against the next Invader who comes to take them away; for as to that great Question, *An bellum offensivum vel defensivum sit licitum*, the *Socinians* answer is *negatur*, which any one may see who pleaseth to consult the *Themata F. Socini de officio Christi* p. 7. *Inter breves tractatus F. Socini*: and likewise his *Epistle to Christopher Morstius*, p. 498. among his *Epistles*.

And thus let the well-willers to *Presbytery*, call that erroneous opinion of their Church Government being founded on that *Divine Right*, and the immediate Command of *Christ* and his Apostles a *Tenet* of Religion, but to confront the Laws of Kingdoms in the settling it, and to eradicate any part of those, and especially to root the inheritable Monarchs Power in popular Election or Approbation, and to make him but the Peoples *Attorney*, and his Authority as revocable by them as a Letter of *Attorney*, is *abusively* call'd Religion, and is only properly to be term'd *Sedition*, or *Rebellion*.

I have been so copious in insisting on the necessary separation of all *Tenets* that are denominable as *Religious*, from those that are really *Irreligious* and *Seditious* under the gross name of the Religion in any Party, as a thing perfectly just in it self, and necessary for the quiet of the World, and do hope that the Age that is so much addicted here to the improvement and polishing of our *Language*, will incline it to do it self that right as not to give false Names to Things, and Names of a contrary signification.

We know that the *Standard* of England in the *Mint* refers both to weight and fineness; and tho a piece of Money may have the Royal Stamp on it, engraven with all possible curiosity, yet if it be not standard, 'tis so far from being allow'd the Name of any *Species* of the Kings *Coin*, that 'tis instantly to be broken in pieces; and as this is but just so is it but necessary for the quiet of the People, who else detecting it would suspect the whole credit of the Mint, as well as of that *Species* of Money, and would either not take it or else with a Clamour raise the price of their Commodities for it.

And

And thus it is too a thing unreasonable and troublesome to the World, for Men to *Coyne* false words or false denominations for any Tenet in Religion intrinsically defective, what curious stamp of the artifice of any Party soever it may bear: its *reprobate Silver* is not to be call'd Religion, and it makes Religion it self lyable to suspicion among the inquisitive, it will trouble every hand it passeth to and from, and in giving a value to it, the People will raise the price of their tolerating it, and the World will never be quiet till its alloy from the true Silver be separated by melting it down, and it takes the name of Religion only when it deserves it.

What is more ordinary then for Clamour to raise this question, *Will you punish any man for his Religion? and will you have any man lose by his Religion?* and I see no end in the disputes of the question but by this Answer, and by this it must find a *Period*, viz. *I punish no man for his Religion*, for that Tenet that I quarrel with him about, is not and indeed cannot be Religion. It is pure and rank Sedition and Rebellion; and if any *Papist* or *Presbyterian* shall write or speak to make the Kings Power a bubble blown up by the breath of the People and so dissolvable, I shall esteem him fit to be proceeded against by the new Statute of the 13th of this Kings Reign against Sedition, and as a Subverter of the Fundamental Laws, and do suppose 'twill be ridiculous for any one to plead his Religion in bar of that Indictment, and he doth moreover deserve to be punish'd as a *Cheater* for abusing the World and himself and Religion too, by calling such a particular Tenet Religion, or a Complication of many Tenets by that Name, where the vertue of them all is not strong enough to correct the Poyson of one.

The Scripture doth punish those with a denunciation of a *Wo* who call evil good, and good evil, that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; and in this particular Point of the calling any of the Idolatries or Impostures of the Heathens or others, by the name of Religion, I remember not any instance in holy Writ, tho yet in other Cases 'tis not infrequent for the inspired Pen man to speak *cum vulgo*.

I observe that in the *New Testament* the name of Religion is several times applyed to the *Jewish* after the World was freed from the Obligation of it: but one of the holy Pen-men speaking in one Chapter of false Apostles, useth the Style of *hating the Deeds of the Nicolaitans, and of holding the Doctrine of the Nicolaitans, and of holding the Doctrine of Balam*: And another of the *Amanuenses* of the Holy-Ghost speaks of *Doctrines of Devils*.

If any man shall offer to my consideration a Scheme of Doctrines that relate to Theology, and I find it is too subtle for my understanding to penetrate, I shall yet be so civil as to allow the Propounder to call it a Religion: and thus if *Papists* or *Protestants* would agree to call Dr. Gibbon's Scheme, a Religion or demonstration of it, I would not oppose their calling it any such thing; and the rather since it enjoyns not to me any thing that would break my own or the Worlds quiet; but when Popery doth enjoyn so many Tenets to be believed that are incredible to a rational Man, and some things that are clearly impossible to a Moral Man, I will call Popery in the gross any thing rather than Religion, just as *Tully* saith of those Law-givers who did *perniciosa & injusta populis præscribere*, that they did *quidvis potius ferre quam leges*.

I find not that since the year 1605. Popery hath so discriminated it self by any alteration for the beter, as to overthrow the weight of King James's saying then to both his Houses of Parliament, viz. *That as it is not impossible but many honest men seduced with some Errors in Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects, so on the other hand, none that know and believe the grounds and School conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove good Christians or faithful Subjects.*

There

There is one *Tenet* in the *Doctrine* of Popery that your Lordship shewed me once discours'd in *Print* by a *Canonist*, and by whom I was directed to trace it, both to the *Gloss* and *Text* in the *Canon Law*, that I having discours'd of, to a Pious and Learned Neighbour of mine, who is a *Roman Catholick*, he oblig'd me to write to your Lordship, that you would please to let any of your *Amanuenses* transcribe, and to send hither to me the Resolution of that *Lawyer*, and determination of the *Pope* in his *Law* about it; and hath declared to me, that he will joyn issue with me in the *Plea* about Religion, in that being a *Tenet* or Principle approved by the Church of *Rome*; and your habitual inclination to afford any one, tho a stranger to you, *lumen de lumine*, will (I doubt not) make it easie to you to gratifie my request in his behalf.

He grants to me that if that *Tenet* can be shewn to be one approved by the Church of *Rome*, that he believes there will be no occasion for disputants any more to attaque the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and that as an *Independant* Author in the late times writing a *Pamphlet* against *Presbytery*, had this Title for it, *An end of one Controversy*, it might be supposed that a Sheet of Paper that without strain'd Inferences could fasten that *Tenet* on the *Doctrine* of Popery, would with better success make an end of that *Controversy*.

My Lord this Point discuss'd in *Print*, that I refer to, is as I find it in the *Notes* I took thereof in your Lordships Study, in *Gundissalvus* his *Tra-ctatus de Hæreticis*, *Question. 24.* before which the *Summarium* is thus,

1. *Civitas in quâ aliqui insunt hæretici an tota possit igne exuri, aut alias destrui.*
2. *Civitas quando dicatur hæresim committere, ut universa destrui possit.*
3. *Universitate punita de hæresi an singuli quoque puniti videantur, ita ut amplius puniri non possint.*

The Gentleman being of a nice tenderness of Conscience, and having a quick sense of any thing that looks like gross impiety, was at the very naming of the first and second *Question*, surprized with a kind of trembling, and was somewhat more discomposed, when I told him that upon consideration of the whole matter, it appear'd even from the most moderate of the *Canonists* that a whole City might lawfully be destroyed with Fire, if the Majority of it were Hereticks, and that there were the Judgment of the Church in the Case; and like a Man of a large and candid Soul, he said, that he was sorry that Humane Nature could in any men so far degenerate, as to deliberate about such their destroying a whole City by Fire, but would reserve his judgment on the Point till he saw it before him in the Quotations out of the *Canon-Law*, as well as *Canonists*. What the Event of his Judgment will be I know not; and I confess I have been very sparing of my time in discoursing with *Roman Catholicks*, about any Point of the *Doctrine* of their Church, since I read it in *Cardinal Tolets Inst. sacerdotum* lib. 4. cap. 3. and 7. p. 612. and in our Countryman *Holcot* a Famous Schoolman in lib. 1. *Sententiarum Quest. 1. ad sextum principale in replica*. That if he hears his Prelate Preaching an erroneous Proposition which he doth not know to be so, and believes him, he doth not sin, but is bound to err because he is bound to believe him, & meretur volendo credere errorem.

And he who believes he shall merit by going out of his way, I am sure deserves, that I should not much trouble my self to go out of mine, to put him in the right.

But this is not the temper of this *Worthy Gentleman*, whom I have reason to esteem a lover of truth *quatenus* truth, and for its own sake; and one who doth not account falshood charming, or *rebellling against the Light* meritorious: and indeed I have observ'd it in some others, as well as him, that after they have deserted the Church of *England*, their inquisitiveness in Religion has not been at its Journeys end, but has still continued in its way, and that so far, that Holy Church and they have oft been apt secretly to be weary of one another.

The Rational Religion they were first educated in, has had the allurements of the *Natalis solum*, that they could never wholly overpower.

I have known three *Earls*, one whereof was of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the other two of *England*, and all of them were men of great Wit and Parts, and such who being brought up in the Religion of the Church of *England*, went off from it to the Church of *Rome*: but receded not from the candour of their tempers, nor from the Society of their old Friends, nor from the frank readiness to discourse with them, about the controverted Points of both Churches, and neither of them perverted their Wives or Children to Popery, and the eldest Sons of them all, are eminent Sons of the Church of *England*, and do make considerable figures in the State.

One of those three *Earls* is yet living, and in him lives the great example of an *English* Nobleman, adorning Nobility by his intellectual and Moral Endowments, and by a Majesty mixt with incomparable sweetness in his familiar Converse, and by a consummate Loyalty to his Prince that Envy it self never spotted, and by such an exact Observation of his Faith, given to any of Mankind, that he would no more violate it with an Heretick, then with a Patriarch or Apostle, and by having been never suspected from using any *Jesuite-Confessors* to learn how to evade from solid Honour by subtle distinctions, or once to allow the least *Chicanery* in God's Great Court of Conscience.

And if we cast our thoughts on *France*, we shall there find that the great and the brave *Turen* after he had so unfortunately thrown himself at the Popes Feet, had there his Arms as ready to embrace his Protestant Friends as ever.

I have heard of two Crown'd Heads of the Church of *Rome*, who were very unkind to their Protestant Subjects after stipulations to the contrary: the one was *Ferdinand* of *Bohemia*, who when Cardinal *Cleselius* Bishop of *Vienna* told him, that if he made War on the *Bohemians* the destruction of that flourishing Kingdom would certainly follow, answered, *We would rather have the Kingdom destroyed then damned*; the other was Queen *Mary* of *England*, who as the (*Acts and Monuments* tells us) being intent on the Restoring the *Abby-Lands*, and discoursing with Four of her Privy-Counsellors about the same, said, perhaps you may object to me again, that the State of my Kingdom, the Dignity thereof and my Crown Imperial, cannot be honourably maintain'd without the Possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding I set more by the Salvation of my Soul, then by Ten Kingdoms: and the Reign of each of these was besmear'd with Blood: but had they been horn and bred Lambs, I believe that no Transmutation of the Blood of *Tygres* into them would have made them such.

The Famous *Julian* of whom 'twas said, *Nunc Apostolicus, Nunc Vilis Apostata factus*, had learned too much Christianity, when he was a Reader, to be a raging Blood-sucker; and if when Emperor he had had e're a Name-sake that collected the *Madrigals* or Hymns against him, he would perhaps have done him no harm.

The

The low birth and the Poverty and Mercenary disposition of *Judas*, tempted him to betray his Master with a kiss, but he was so far wrought on by the good Company he had kept, that he afterwards kill'd none else but himself: and they are such perverted Protestants generally that are of the same rate with *Judas* for Birth and Poverty, and poultry Avarice, that I should desire to stand out of the way from and to avoid the Vermine of such *Renegadoes*; and they are only such Popish Princes as *Ferdinand* and *Mary*, that in their Education were never imbued with better Principles than the bloody ones of Popery, that I should fear as Monsters, and account any Kingdom but a Den, if I lived therein with them: and when ever I happen to dispute about that Notion in vogue that Vertue it self in a Popish Successor will be a Nuisance, and make him a bloody Bigot, I answer with a distinction and grant it is likely to be so in one who passed from the Breast, in Infancy to suck in Sanguinary Principles, but where in any Successor, the Tenets of Popery when he is on the Borders of old Age, are Successors to Principles of a Noble and Rational Religion, that he has grown up into youth and manhood with, I shall account my fears very wild and irrational if my hopes do not grow up with them as to my promising my self, that he will at least answer *Bacalines* Character of the best Reformer of the World, namely, *one that leaves it as he finds it*, and do suppose the practicableness of what is Savage in Nature, being reclaim'd in one Animal toward another it was educated with, will be allowed from the frequent and trivial spectacle of the Lion and the Lamb that were bred up together, and who without the help of Miracle and Prophecy were taught by Nature to lye down together, and shall account the same persons injurious to the World, who fishing in troubled waters of the State, say, *the worse the better*, and of such a Prince educated in Protestantcy and then perhaps turning Papist, *the better the worse*, and especially when the Laws have espous'd us to his Line, *for better for worse*.

Our acute and profound Mr. *Chillingworth* in Mature years went over to the Church of *Rome*, and in his course there made a short turn, and the *Natale solum* of the Church of *England* charm'd him soon back again, and he by the culture of his reason made the Soil a hundred fold amends for his temporary deserting it. But Princes and Potentates are under higher temptations than his low Station placed him in not to be seen to retreat, especially after their having once done it before, and may suppose that other Princes will look on them as more slippery and unsafe to be dealt with, if the same Principles once congeal'd or hardened in them, and afterward dissolv'd should be congeal'd again, just as the Earth is more slippery and unsafe to be walked on in a Frost after a Thaw.

We are told by the Conformist in the *Friendly Debate*, in p. 112. *That he has heard some of the Nonconformist Divines acknowledge, that they did not scruple what the Conformists do: but thought it unhand'some for them to do it, &c. And the meaning was, in plain English, that they were ashamed to confess their error.*

But if some of those *Divines* whose low Education conducted them perhaps from being Servitors in the University to domineer in their Cures, and who through the Track of their Lives might be traced by the slime of their Pedantry, and whose Trade was (or should have been) the Study of *Divinity* (the Precepts of which and their fragments collected out of *Augustinus* and *Aquinas* as well as the example of the former, obliged them to retract those Errors publicly, that they had so utter'd) I say that if they were yet so *Picquez d' Honneur*, that they would not let their fallibility appear in Villages, and even the falsity of those Principles of theirs, by which

which as many *Hundreds of Thousands* here were slain as were bare *hundreds* murder'd in the inglorious Reign of Queen *Mary*, they have true Cause to think it dishonourable for them to restrain their Compassion from any high born Prince, the brightness of whose great Martial Atchievements has dazeld the Universe, and will continue to do it when he is in the shades below, and one who may say as the *Pope* did to the *Jansenists* that he had never studied Divinity, and they are very unfit to Cashiere him from the Church Militant, if he doth not in the view of Mankind appear to make a *Retreat* at the Call of their *Trumpet*, which has been known to give so uncertain a sound; and such may be ashamed to despair of his finding out any false Notions, he may have received in Religion, and to conclude that he hath not privately discovered them because he doth not openly recant them, and to expect that after perhaps he hath erred in the Tenet of *Confession*, he should yet presently make the World his *Confessor* about it, and grant him nothing of the Guard of Honour in the Case, but Monopolize the temptations from honour to their sinful obscure selves.

But as no man can take the measures of anothers Sins without taking those of his temptations, so none but a Prince can know the temptations of a Prince. *Dic mihi si fueris tu Leo, &c.*

The like Pedantry therefore in the great St. *Jerom* was inexcusable as to that sharp saying of his, *Miror si aliquis Rex salvabitur*: and that Satyrical fancy of his hath since met with its Match by some that have sent St. *Jerom* to the Devil as fantastically; for so I find it said in Dr. *Donnes Biadart*, After so many Ages of a Devout and Religious Celebrating the Memory of St. *Jerom*, *Causæus* hath spoken so dangerously, that (*Ratio. 5.*) *Campion* says, he pronounceth him to be as deep in Hell as the Devil.

Moreover I think it great injustice to any Prince who has changed his Religion of Protestancy for Popery, that Protestants should at the same time be jealous of his retaining no tincture of his former Principles, that the Bigotted and Jesuited Papists are jealous of his scarce retaining a tincture of his new ones, and by jealousy too, as cruel as the Grave, as appeared by the fate of *Harry the 4th*, who because he did not and indeed could not devest himself of that humanity toward his Protestant Subjects that was riveted in his nature, after he was absolv'd by the Chair of Infalibility, and reconciled to the very Scorners Chair of the *Jesuites*, yer merely because he had not a window to his breast through which every capricious Priest might look in at, and might thereby put in what Principles he pleased, they were resolved to cut one there; and after *John Chastel* had begun to practice his incision, an execrable *Apology* for it was Published, in which *Apology* Printed in *Latin* at *Lyons Anno 1611.* the Assertion or Head of Chapter 3d, Part 2d is, *Chastel had no purpose to kill a King*, and of Chapter 4th there, *Henry of Burbon cannot be called a King by reason of his pretended Conversion*: and of Chapter 8th there, *Neither can he be King tho absolv'd by the Pope*, and of Chapter 9th, *Neither can he be called a King by the Right of Succession*, and of Chapter 11th, *Hereticks and especially relapsed ones are Jure Divino & Humano to be put to death*, and of Chapter 12th, *Hereticks and especially relapsed ones may be killed by private Persons, if it cannot be done otherwise.*

The Assassination of *Harry the 3d* of France bears with it a *Memento mori* to any Roman Catholick Prince, who will not be thorow paced in obeying the Precepts of Bigotted Priests against Hereticks, and to this effect runs the Clamour of the Actions of such Bigots, either you must go our pace to Heaven and Travel by our Mapp, see with our Eyes, and let us ride you when we will, and make you ride over your Heretical Subjects, or we will precipitate you to the Devil.

I mention'd it before out of D' Offat that it was known at Rome, that Queen Anne the Wife to King James, *had some inclination to the Roman Catholick Religion*, and no doubt but she was perverted to it in some measure by some of the *Romish* Priests who were then as since insolently over officious to tempt Princes to change their Faith: and tho none of our Historians mentions any thing of her being a Papist or inclining to be so, yet D' Offat (as I said) relates *how Villeroy supposed her to have turn'd Papist*: but our Historians unanimously mention one thing, that she was designed as well as the King and Prince and others to be blown up by the Gun-Powder-Treason, a thing that may give one who turns Son of the Church of Rome cause to say, *Mallem esse Herodis porcum quam filium.*

No doubt but the mind of any Popish Prince coming out of the cool and sweet Air of a benign and rational Religion, to that of such a torrid Zone and Shambles of mans flesh as the Doctrine of Popery presents, will be oftener in his thoughts travelling back to that Religion then the prying World can know.

But the Gentleman my friend is not any way tempted in point of honour to delay his Return to the Church of England; and he lately mentioning to me his wishes of the speedy Arrival of your Lordships Papers, told me, that possibly he and I should be both gainers thereby, and that I should gain the Victory and he the Truth, and that he would never account those Priests of Rome to be the Missionaries of Christ, who if their Doctrine be refused, shall instead of *shaking off the dust of their feet* in any house, reduce it to Ashes; and further affirmed that it were less absurd and extravagant to wish there were no Religion at all in the World, whether reveal'd or natural, then that any such *Hypothesis* or Doctrine that Authorised a Practice of that nature, should be universally receiv'd in it as its Religion.

For tho natural Religion acquaints me with the Divine Power, and gives me hopes of my Creators not rendring me miserable by that Power, and the rather when I have seen that many of the Contemners of Heavens Thunder lived prosperously on Earth, yet if a Model of Religion pretended to be the only reveal'd one shall controuling all the Dictates of natural Religion enjoyn the firing of whole Cities, and mankind confus'd outraging one another, I must atandon my further hopes of Bliss from such a Being as was it self miserable, for so that would be whose nature was still in a fermentation of Anger and Passion, and rear'd up Men as the Workmanship of its hands, only to dash those curious but brittle Vessels against one another, and that even for such a Being 'twere more eligible to be, then to be always so miserable, as well as 'twould prove so for my self too, then to be always in Torment by Anger.

But we know that as God is *the God of Order and not of Confusion*, so he is likewise an overflowing Fountain of Goodness, and so infinitely benign, that if his Nature were rightly represented to an ingenious *Atheist*, if he did not at last believe he would ardently wish there were a God: and I think if there be any number of that degenerate sort of Mankind called *Atheists*, (as was said) that such degeneracy must needs be chiefly caused by the mis-representations of the Divine Being.

I have before mentioned how Tully in his *de Natura Deorum* shews great Wit in his Anger against the *Epicureans*, for their representing the Deity as unconcern'd for Mankind; and against the rendring God careless of the welfare of his Creature man he there exclaims, *Deinde si maxime talis est Deus ut nullâ gratiâ, nullâ hominum charitate teneatur, valeat.*

How passionately then would he have upbraided any Mushroom Sect of Philosophers, if such had sprung up in the World (as in his time and before there never did) that had represented the Nature of the Deity as solicitous and careful only of procuring the misery of Mankind and disorder of the World, and enjoying men to spit fire at one another, exposing them to the fury of Wild Beasts if they lived in Desarts, and of wilder Creatures, that is, themselves, if they lived in Cities.

There was an Ingenious and Learned and Pious *Divine*, I mean *Cressy* who in our days forsook the Communion of the Church of *England*, and turned *Roman Catholick*, and went beyond Sea, and returned to *England* in the Conjunction of the *petulant Insolence*, and was so far infected therewith, and likewise with the *Chagrin* incident to sickness, that he writ very peevishly against our Church, and one of our great Church Men: and his Writings were justly censured by the Earl of *Clerendon*: but according to my former Observation, so much of the Character of the rationality of the Protestant Religion that he was long bred up in remain'd in him indelible, that I believe had he been made an *Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity*; he would neither have took away a drop of Blood from any Protestant, nor a hair from his head: and in his Reply to that Noble Lord, he is so candid as speaking of the *Position* charged on *Roman Catholicks*, that no Salvation is to be had out of that Church, to affirm that all *Catholicks* grant that this is not necessarily to be understood of an actual external Communion, and that many *Christians* of vertuous devout lives, and having had a constant preparation of mind to prefer truth whensoever effectually discovered to them before all temporal advantages, they dying in this disposition tho not externally joyned to the Church, will be esteem'd by our merciful Lord as true Members of his Mystical Body the Church.

No Papist but one bred a Protestant, could have had thoughts so large concerning the extent of the invisible Church, or fancy that what is before mentioned, is granted by all *Catholicks*, and should I hear any Priest in a *Fryars Cowle* grant what is abovesaid, I should fancy that he remain'd an invisible Protestant, and that he continued so exuberantly good in his natural disposition as not to be able to frame an *Idea* in his mind of the damning of Mens Souls, and making Coals of their Bodies and Bonfires of their Cities, for mistaken Sentiments in Religion: and had Mr. *Cressy* lived till this time, 'tis possible your Lordship by your Notification of that fiery Tenet of the Papal Church aforesaid, might have been an instrument of his visible Return to our Church; for his labour'd heating himself with Passion upon the mention of the Practice of that thing in his *Church History*, shews sufficiently how he would have abhorr'd any Church that abhorr'd not that Tenet.

The Place I refer to in his *Church History* is in the 14th Book, 4th Chapter, where he doth strenuously endeavour to prove that *Monk Austin* was unjustly Accused of having killed 1200 Brittainish Monks: and having said there §. 9th, yet of late this poysonous humour of Calumniating God's Saints is become the Principal Character of the New Reformed Gospel, he goes on thus, I will add one example more of a Calumniator, to wit, Mr. William Prynne, a late stigmatised Presbyterian, &c. But alas what repentance can be expected in such a person (speaking of Prynne) who is inveteratus malorum dierum, when we see in his decrepit Age his rancorous Tongue against innocent Catholicks, yet more violently set on Fire of Hell so far as to solicit a general Messacre of them, by publishing himself and tempting others to damn their Souls also by publishing through the whole Kingdom, that in the last Fatal Calamity by Fire happening to London they were the only Incendiaries. This he did tho him-
self

self at the same time confessed that not the least proof could be produced against them, but said he it concerns us that this Report should be believed. Complaints of this most execrable Attempt were made, and several Oaths to Confirm this were offer'd, but in vain. But however surely there is a Reward for the innocent oppress'd, and whatsoever Mr. Prynne may think, doubtless there is a God that judgeth the World. Let him therefore remember what the Spirit of God saith, *quid detur tibi, aut quid apponatur tibi ad linguam dolosam sagittæ potentis acutæ, cum carbonibus desolatoriis, is what must be given to thee, and what must be assign'd to thee for thy Portion, O deceitful Tongue, sharp Darts cast by an Almighty Arm with devouring Coals of Juniper.*

And it follows §. 10. *With as good reason therefore St. Austin may be Accused of the slaughter of those Brittain Monks as St. Columban, a holy Irish Monk, &c. might be charged with the most horrible death of Queen Bruneheld, &c.*

This good man certainly apprehended no reason of an additional Commandment, *Thou shalt not fire thy Neighbours house*, and had he been convinced that the Pope in his decrepit Age had made a Commandment for the firing of it, and whole Cities, and had so pronounced *è Cathedrâ*, would probably have imputed the *lingua dolosa*, and the *carbones desolatorii* to his Doctrine, and the smoak from that fiery Doctrine would have had the effect of opening his Eyes.

But as for Mr. Cressy's Idea of the Massacring any Incendiaries tho they had been took *in flagranti*, if he had staid in his old Church, I mean that of *England*, he would have found any such thing sufficiently stigmatised by its Doctrine, which makes the King to *bear the Sword, and that not in vain*, and allows not the Rabble to be a *Terror to Evil Doers*, nor Hell to break loose for the support of Heaven, and which inculcates Obedience to the Law of the Land *for Conscience sake*, and even that Law permits none to Assemble in Arms against a declared Enemy, but by the Kings particular Commission: and he must therefore go to *China* or to *Rome*, that will have a Street or a Town, or the *Universitas* or *Community* therein punish'd, for the pretended or real faults of particular persons.

Moreover the *English Genius* hath not in *Story* that I know of, been tainted with Infamy for penetrating any thing of that horrid Nature, except in the old days of Popery in relation to the *Jews*: and the Lay-Rabble was then put upon it by the Rabble of *Fryars* and *Monks*, who owing Money to the *Jews* were that way willing to confute their Creditors.

And since the time that that Great and High Judg of Reason as well as Equity, and to whom the Custody of the King's Conscience was Committed, and who hath held the Scale of Equity with as steady an hand and tender heart, and as discerning and watchful an Eye as any of his Predecessors, did place the dreadful Guilt of the Firing of *London*, where he did at the Condemnation of the Lord *Stafford*, and probably had satisfied his Judgment for the doing of it by Observations or Examinations of Passages that occurred elsewhere, rather than at that *Trial* (for there the Evidence did not rise clear and high enough, for the occasioning that part of his Sentence) and since the time that the People of *England* by their Representatives threw the Guilt of that Fire on the Papists, and the Magistrates of our Metropolis inscribed it on the *Monument*, the populace have been as calm and temperate in their judging of it, and as perfectly free from resentments of Revenge against all the Papists in general, or any one Papist in particular, as if none but that poor angry Antiquary Mr. Prynne had censured them for it, and whose Thunder the World being so long used to, did

did so much despise that his popularity could scarce have obtain'd an outcry for the killing of a single Mad Dog.

I must confess tho by the reiterated Confession, and by the Execution of *Hubert* a Papist, it appear'd that he did set Fire to the House in *London* from whence its rage began, and tho his Confessing of *Peidelow* to be one of his Accomplices in the Fact, exempts it from being doubted that Papists burn'd *London*, and tho after I had heard of that judgment of the Lord Chancellor, and of the *House of Commons*, and of the Magistrates aforesaid, and was shewn that *Papal Tenet* by your Lordship, I doubted not of the Justice of attributing in my thoughts one part of the Guilt of the Fire to some Jesuited Papists, and that it might be said with the same propriety of Speech that *London* was Fired by the Papists, as 'twas by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, that *Harry the 4th of France*, was kill'd by the Papists; yet I never thought any considerable number of the Gentry among our Lay-Papists would have practis'd any thing of that kind, tho the Pope himself should have Commanded it.

There was a Book containing Observations on our late Affairs of Church and State, Printed in the Year 1680, called the *Arts and Pernicious Designs of Rome*, wherein is shewed what are the Aims of the Jesuites and Fryars, &c. by a person of their own Communion, who turn'd Romanist about thirty years since: and throughout that Book as he in general fortifies my observation of a Protestant when turn'd Papist, not being able to abandon all Candour his mind was first nourished in, so he doth it particularly, p. 25. where having in Proposition 4th, spoke of the Mischiefs we have received from some Popish Orders and particularly that of the Jesuites, he saith as followeth in Proposition 41, viz. *Amongst which the late sad disaster happening to the City of London, (not to mention divers others of like nature happening in divers other places since) if it were a Practice of any Humane Contrivance, and not a meer judgment of God from Heaven upon us, cannot reasonably be thought to have been the Project or Practice of any other Men then these, and to have come originally from Rome, and the Consistory there: who beside the bad Principles already mentioned, which legitimate such doings at all times, that they judge it convenient for their ends, were (without doubt) willing to signalize that year (1666) with some remarkable mischief done to Protestants in check to the fancies of some in that Party, who have had the confidence to affirm, and as it were to predict, that in this year Rome and (their pretended Antichrist) the Pope should be utterly destroyed.*

That it appear'd a Practice of Humane Contrivance by the very Confession of the Incendiary is plain, and that it was by the People in the City then suspected so, I have said, but so far were our plain English natures from charging it on any Lay-English Papist, that Mr. *Marvel* in his *Growth of Popery*, Printed Anno 1677, having said, *That we may reckon the Reigns of our late English Princes, by a Succession of the Popish Treasons against them*, adds, *And if under his Majesty we have yet seen no more visible effects of the same Spirit, then the Firing of London, (acted by Hubert, hired by Peidelow two French Men) which remains a Controversie, it is not to be attributed to the good Nature or better Principles of that Sect, but to the wisdom of his Holyness, who observes that we are not of late so dangerous Protestants as to deserve any special Mark of his Indignation.*

I presume not to charge or discharge any sort of men about this Fact further then the Law hath done, whether Papists or Priests, or Fifth Monarchy-men, (for of a Conspiracy to Fire the City on the day it was fired on, several of that latter Sect had been before Convicted, and deservedly Executed for it, as we must either Grant or Arraign the Justice of the Nation, and therefore Mr. *Cressy* had reason to blame Mr. *Prynn* in some measure

sure for concluding that the Papists were the only Incendiaries of the City; when Mr. Prynne could not have forgot what had happen'd to those Conspirators, and that the very Principles of many of that wild Sect, are for the legitimating the most desperate Out-rages and Rebellions imaginable,) but out of Justice to Humane Nature, will never render any man ill upon ill Proofs, and such as are contrary to the Nature of things, as for example, one Argument which is so prevalent with many for their concluding that London was designedly burnt by many Popish Persons, namely, because it was apparently true and not denyable, that the Flames did break out in several places of the City at the tops of several houses, which were at a considerable distance from the Fire, doth not in the least move me so to conclude; for 'tis obvious in Nature, that as the heat of an ordinary Fire will put combustible light matter that is at a small distance from it into a flame, a heat proportionably greater, must do the same thing at a greater distance: and this appear'd in Fact conspicuous to Thousands, while the Fire then broke out from the Timber-work in the Tower of the Old Exchange, when the great Conflagration was a quarter of a Mile distant from it.

Nor yet would I venture in discourse with any Papist about the afore-said *Tenet*, to call it either *Tenet* or *Principle* chargeable on the Church of Rome as approved by it, if it were only deducible in the way of Inferences from other *Tenets*; as for example, If one should say the Papists hold that 'tis lawful to burn the persons of Hereticks, and much more therefore to burn their Houses, and to burn the Nest as well as to kill the Bird, and that the Goods of Hereticks are *ipso iure* confiscate, and therefore their Houses; and accordingly I told my Roman-Catholick friend that I would never raise this *Principle* of Fire against his Church by Collision of Arguments, but by the help of your Lordships Quotations referring to the *Canon Law* as well as *Canonists*, shew him the Pope claiming the Power, *in terminis terminantibus*, to fire whole Cities as aforesaid, and that long before his Power received so much accession of Territory (as I may call it) of Prerogative by those great Students of *Crown-Divinity*, and Assertors of his *Fifth Monarchy*, the Jesuites.

I do intend to entertain only this my particular friend at this Season, with the Passages I shall receive from you concerning this *Tenet*, because 'tis in me an habitual temper, not *salem nitro superaddere*, or to afflict any afflicted Lay-Papists who may retain some unsound Notions of Religion, and yet be sound Members of the State, and I shall not desire either by words or writing to imitate the ungenerous Practice of the Sons of Jacob toward the *Sichemites*, in attacking them when they were sore. And moreover Reason is thrown away on men in Passion, and during the Paroxysme of Passion in either any Papists or Dissenters, there is no frightening them from an absurdity by Arguments, for there can be nothing more absurd then their very Passion, and while that lasts they are as insensible of the wounds that are made in their Principles by objections, as some in a Battel are of wounds they receive there.

But I am not without hopes of a more *pacific Conjunction* that may come wherein our *Un-Jesuited* Lay-Papists may discriminate their Principles and Notions, from the troublesome ones of others of them, that vex the knowing part of Mankind with their Implicit Faith, like Flies blind in one Season of the year getting into Mens Eyes, and when all empty *Religion-Traders* will no more like the *Merchants* of Tyre pass for *Princes of the Earth*, after they had with a bulk of words so long enslaved the World and its *Princes*, and themselves too, and made Religion but the word (as I may say) to discriminate Parties in War, and to know who and who are of a side, and that

by the Mutual Consent of reasonable men of all Parties the word *Religion*, will not be put on what is really Irreligion, and that a handful of men will think it in vain to strive to keep up the acception or signification of any word or words, when the currency of the age and that justly too, hath damned the former sense thereof, and that all men must speak in the Sense of the Rational Age or not speak intelligibly; and as *he who seems to be Religious and bridles not his tongue, his Religion is vain*, it will be in vain too for him to think to have ought call'd Religion against the sense of the World, and as the *Licence* was vain and ridiculous granted to a *Book of Physick* wherein the Licencer said, *Nihil reperio in hoc libello fidei Catholicæ contrarium quo minus typis mandetur*, so likewise will the Vogue of granting any *Liberty* to any thing of Catholick Faith that has Treason and Sedition in it, be as worthy of Laughter: and then will the Publishing of this *Tenet* be prevalent probably with *Papists*, and prove like a word in season, and tend to the abolishing the abuse of the word *Religion*, when they shall be argued with in the cool of the day, (as our first Parents were after the fall) and their *Fiery Principles* be then exposed, and then may each of them whose Religion so call'd excited their angry Prophets to desire the destruction of Heretical Cities, as the *Choler* of *Jonah* at last animated him tho not to destroy, yet to wish the Destruction of *Niniveh*, be as he was seasonably expostulated with, *dost thou well to be angry?* and dost thou well to be angry with others, who will not call thy firing their houses Religion, when thou seest the World begin to laugh at the impertinence of the calling it so?

The *Author* I cited before of the great *Question to be considered*, begins his discourse with a Patriotly kind of Sagacity thus, viz. *That this Nation and the Nation of Scotland and Ireland concerned with it, are at present in such a posture, and under such Circumstances, as give just reason both of fear and care more then ordinary both to Rulers and People, is so without doubt, that it needs no Proof, and that we are in a dangerous Fever, in regard both to our Civil and Religious Interest, all in their wits must know: which Disease, albeit it be now in the opinion of most come to a Crisis, yet few can determine, whether it will end in a natural cool, or prove a distemper yet more dangerous and deadly.*

But when I consider the great number of those in the Kingdom who are at their ease therein, either by substantial Fortunes or Professions or Trades, and who would account it both trouble and shame to get by Religion, as an adventitious Trade, as much as a great first-rate Practitioner in Law, who had a Receipt for the Curing the Tooth-Ach or Gout would to get Fees thereby, and to have a Mingle of Clients and Patients together, and which sort of Mankind that by the solid weight of their Fortunes or Industry are come to their Center of Rest, must necessarily hate all Projectors of Earthquakes in Church and State, and being well on their *terra firma* will never care to walk on the high Rope with the Poise of a drawn Sword in their hands, and who will never venture their heads by wearing any discriminating Ribbands in their Hats, nor give their heads for the washing or the rebaptising themselves with little Names of the distinctions of Parties, and who generously valuing themselves on unmercenary Loyalty and unbribed Orthodoxy, will neither rob *Cæsar* or *God* of the things that are theirs, and not expect that their *Prince* should impoverish himself by paying *Tribute* to them and taking them off by Gifts, more then the Patriots in *Queen Elizabeths* days did, and when I consider that the more thinking and knowing part among these and whose ease is only infringed by seeing so many objects that are uneasie, must needs think and know that solid Trade and Industry can never thrive, nor the Kingdom by it,
till

till the false *Trade* of Religion shall be exterminated, I do fancy to my self that we shall shortly by the strength of this sound part of the Nation, be able to weather the *Crisis* or *decretory* days of our feavourish distemper, and that our disease will end in a *natural cool*, and that as some *fermentation* may be said to be *perfective* as well as destructive, (and indeed life it self is but a Continuation of the vigorous *fermentation* of the Blood which is so long maintained as the *Mass* of Blood is kept hot and Circulating through the *Veins* and *Arteries*) so we shall find this fermentation that has been in the Kingdom prove perfective to it, and a continuer of the life of it. For as one very useful property of *fermentation* is, that while it separates all heterogeneous parts, it leaves the *basis* as it were or main Ingredient of the *Mass* clear and pure, and discards from it recrements or superfluities, and another noble property thereof is, that it exalts the Body fermented to what perfection it is capable of, these effects do I expect of our Political Fermentation (that hard word that is generally used in expressing the present distracted State of the Kingdom) and that it will naturally cause in the Body of the People that *superfluity* of folly as well as *naughtiness* to be thrown off, which will leave the substantial part of the Nation more clear and pure, and will end in *England's* Ballancing it self first and then the World, all our useless Religion-Traders having been swept away as the *dust* of our *Ballance*.

I grant that the Animosities among many Protestants of narrow Souls, and Principles may last too long on the account of Religion, and a great many deluders will make a great many deluded desperately obstinate against their Ecclesiastical Rulers: but the People of *England* are too many to be crowded into the Prisons of such narrow Principles, and this great and active thing called *Nature*, that is always busie and which sometimes doth its business even by mens Idleness (and the necessary effect thereof, their Poverty) will by the general necessitous condition of *Luxuriants* and Religion-Traders force them to be industrious, and that industry will bring us to the State of a *Britannia florens*, and too of a *Britannia triumphans*, and rescue a populous Kingdom from the decay of its Trade, that hath happen'd by our having been embarrass'd with a *Holy Kirk* or *Holy Church* Militant against the State, and that affirmation which appeared so senseless in the Theology of a Popish Priest, namely, that *Respublica est in Ecclesia*, instead of the Church being in the Common-wealth, will equally appear so in the Writings of Mr. *Carwright* (for that he there affirmed) and to be in any man's writings as absurdly said as it is in the *Lexicon Geographicum* in Folio, *Cantabria est quoddam oppidum in quo est Academia*.

If any Dissenter should now trouble the Press with ingenious Books to perplex the Layety about the lawfulness of the ordination by Bishops, he would want ingenious Readers; for 'tis now as much out of fashion for People to concern themselves about knowing the demonstrative certainty of the true ordination of their Pastors, almost as 'twas among the *Jews* of old to question who were the true Sons of *Levi* by natural Generation, a thing that none but the Mother knew.

Our *English* World is likely to the end of time, to be too busie to mind nice Questions of the *uncertain Genealogies* of Churches, and each Protestant now will admit of the *Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam* without quarrelling about the *Latinity* of the expression; and as in the *History* of the Council of *Trent* (where the Thred of the Controversie about *proponentibus legatis* runs through the whole Council) when it was told the Pope that *Vargas* granted that if the thing designed were only that the Legates shall propose, no man would have complain'd, but the *Ablative*, *proponentibus legatis* did deprive the Bishops of Power to propose, and therefore 'twas fit to change it in-

to another kind of Speech, the Pope replied, *That 'twas now no time to think of cujus generis & cujus casus*, so in our Realm all Policy it self whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, will now be accounted but Pedantry, that by any previous questions puts off the debate of *Capital Ships* and their Maintenance and Equipage; and the consideration of the necessity of great Supplies for that purpose, will carry the Vote with a *Nemine Contradicente* among the People diffusive here, that they will give no more Supplies to Religion-Traders, and that in order to the Nations being able as a *Britannia florens* in point of Trade to keep great Fleets at Sea, 'tis necessary that mens expectation should be bankrupt of gain by Castles in the Air, or in fine, that the very Corporation of the Trade of all *Beggars* should be broken which has so much diminished our other Trade.

The great States-man of this latter Age, *Mazarine* projecting the growing Power and Glory of *France*, did not long before he dyed, wisely lay the Foundation of it by the extirpating out of the Metropolis and other Cities of that Kingdom, those publick Nufances there called *Beggars*, and since all *Religion-Traders* are in truth and reallity of the *Trade of Beggars*, and the Multitude of them at present diminisheth the shame of that very Trade, the destruction of it will probably by all be judged as the first thing necessary for the advancement of other Commerce. And as the wisest course I ever heard of, taken for breaking the Trade of *Beggars* in the Streets was that by the *Justices of Middlesex* in their Printed Papers, sent to the Church-Wardens, Overseers of the Poor, and Constables of the respective Parishes in the Suburbs, whereby *all Persons are desired and required by their Order* to forbear to relieve any *Beggars* at their doors, or in any other kind about the Streets, so in like manner will nature probably by the real Poverty of People cause them to forbear to give relief to these Religious *Mendicants*, and will thereby break their Trade.

And moreover tho there hath in all Ages been another sort of Traders, and who too were but splendid *Beggars*, and by their importunity in Courts, and with artifice representing the Sores and Maims of their Estates have moved the Royal Commiseration to exhaust its Revenue on them, yet the vast publick charge likely to be impendent over us as well as our Neighbours will shew those First-rate Mendicants the vanity of the Science of *begging*, a Science that *Agrippa* doth very well Animadvert upon, in his Book *de Vanitate Scientiarum*.

And there being no way for the Heirs and Children of our many *Luxuriants*, to get from under the loads of debts and Incumbrances bequeath'd them, but by industry and frugality, I account that they will be necessitated to mend the *Genius* of the Age, and so to contribute to the advancement of Trade.

When the *Author of Britannia languens* doth (I fear) too truly tell us, p. 139. *That our late wealthy Yeomanry are impoverished or so much reduced in their Stocks, that a man shall hardly find three in a County able to Rent 3 or 400 l. per Annum, and that our Poor are encreased to near ten times their late number within these last twenty years, and that their maintainance doth cost the Nation 400000 l. per Annum constant Tax, and had before in p. 138 shew'd, That the Trades of Tillage, Grazing, Dairy, Cloathing, Fulling, that formerly enriched the Occupiers of them, have in these latter years been the usual Shipwracks of Mens Stocks and Estates in most parts of England, and in p. 27. That we have in a manner lost the Eastland and Northern Trades, and in p. 240 shews, That the cheapness of Interest doth not proceed from the plenty of Money but scarceness of security, and there observes, That Personal Security for Money being in a manner lost, and that there is not one Land security in*
twenty

twenty that is good, and in p. 291. *I hear of no new improving Manufactures in England but that of Periwigs*, we may well account that the Ebb of our Trade is at the very lowest point, and that under so good a Prince in to good and populous a Land, nature will hasten its improvement.

Tho the understandings of the *English* have in all Arts and Sciences appear'd as sharp as those of any Nation, and particularly in the Science of the *Politics*, yet so it has happen'd that since the *Reformation* our States-men have been so put to it by the efforts of *Popery* and other *Religion-Trades* to stand continually upon their Guard, and have been so worn out by continual duty, that they have not had time to make Platforms of improvement of Political Discipline, or to acquaint the World with their *Memoires* as many of the States-men of *France* have done, and the great *Ship* of the *Nation* in its Trading Voyages (as I may say) under Sail, and making a great figure in the Sea of time, and having experienced Pilots at the Helm of State, hath yet been so clog'd in its motion by the little fantastick *Remora* of a pretended Religion sticking to its side in several Conjunctions, that our making no more way in the World hath appeared a Jest to Critical Spectators, and no doubt but pending the Authority of a *Religion-Trade*, as paramount over others in this or any Country, its fate will be like *Reubens*, never to excel. Not only our States-men but our *Princes* in former times tho their abilities were very great and adequate to support the weight of the Government had it been greater, were yet expos'd to perpetual toyl, by ballancing the Religious Contest, viz. of the Parties of *Papists* and *Puritans*; which minds me how it hath been wonder'd at, that a strong Horse should not draw a one wheel'd Coach with a great deal of ease, considering that he only bears up part of the weight, and keeps it upright to a *Ballance* by *thills* on either side of him, and that by experience 'tis found that this Horse becomes weary sooner then expectation: and the reason of it is conceived to be, that tho he bears not so much burthen nor draws so much draught as a Coach or other Carriage with two or more Wheels, yet he is so bruised and banged on either side with the unusual motion of the *thills* to keep the one Wheel'd Coach upright, that he is thereby much sooner spent and wearied then by ordinary drawing or bearing he would have been: and thus neither better nor worse, hath been the fate of our Monarchs and their Ministers, to be continually throughout the Journey of their Lives hit on this and 't'other side, and bruised with the Thills of *Popery* and *Presbytery*, while they were keeping up Religion to a *Ballance*; but I believe 'twill appear a shame to us that they should be thus the *Ludibria* of Fortune any longer.

The Author of the present State of England, Part. 2. saith, *That the yearly Charge of his Majesty's Navy in times of Peace continuing in Harbor, is so well regulated that it amounts to scarce 700000 l.*

Had he heard my Lord-Keeper *Bridgeman's* Speech to the Parliament, Anno 1670. he would there have been inform'd, *That His Majesty finds that by his Accounts from the year 1660 to the late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet, Communibus annis, came to 500000 l. a year, and that it cannot be supported with less.*

His Lordship in that Speech mentioning to what proportion our Neighbours had augmented their Fleets, and how it import'd His Majesty to keep pace with them, if not to outgo them in number and strength of Shipping, minds me of the Force of that saying of Cicero to Atticus, L. 10. Ep. 7. *Qui mare tenet, eum necesse est rerum potiri*, and the truth of it is much more applicable to the State of the World now, then that in his time: and we shall always be but *damnati ad insulam*, if we do not by a vigorous industry so supply

cur selves as to be able to supply our Princes, and so as to enable them to make the Naval Strength of *England*, as proportionable to that of other Nations, as it can be made.

As the ordinary charge of the Fleet for several years, came to the great above mentioned Sum, so I believe that the ordinary Naval Charge never since amounted to less than 200,000 *l. per Year*, beside the vast Charge in building new Ships and rebuilding old, and the Charge of Summer and Winter Guards, and of Convoys and of Ships against *Algeers*: and His Majesties most exact care of the defence of the Walls of the Kingdom hath been such, while he beheld the emulous endeavours of Nations to excell in Naval Power, that he hath enrich'd his Realm since the Year 69, with a more valuable Fleet then it had before: and the great Cordial that Nature allows us against *Wars*, and *Rumors of Naval Wars*, when we are dejected with the shame of our Civil Wars having occasioned the Neighbouring World to augment its Naval Force, and consequently too our own vast perpetual Charge in the augmenting ours, is that by the necessary encrease of our industry we are capable of defraying it, and herein Providence is but just in treating us in the Confinement to our Island, as the *Dutch* do *Idlers* sent to their *Work-houses*, where care is taken that if they do not the Work appointed them, the *Sea* will come in upon them: and 'tis well for us that accordingly as is shewn in the 8th Chapter of Sir *W. P's Political Arithmetick*, there are spare hands enough among the King of England's Subjects to earn Two Millions per Annum, more then they now do, and there are employments ready, proper and sufficient for that purpose.

His expression of the spare hands of the *English* minds me, how we who did before our Commotion only pay to our Kings, the 6th part of the spareable part of our *Estates*, (for that was what Mr. *Vaughan* afterward Lord Chief Justice declared in the House of Commons, to be the proportion that men were to be taxed in the old gentle way of Assessments, called Subsidies) were forced upon those manifold payments to the Usurpers, that amounted to one entire Subsidy in each Week of the Year, when as what we payed before exceeded not usually one Subsidy or 15th in two or three years space.

And afterward when instead of the demanding of Five Members from the Parliament, above 400 were forcibly secluded from it, most Exorbitant Taxes were Levied in the Name of a House of Commons, in which instead of 508 Members as the legal Complement of its number, and of 78 Knights of Shires for *England*, and 12 for *Wales*, there were no Knights of the Shire at all sitting in that House for these 26 *English* and 11 *Welch* Counties following, viz. *Bedfordshire*, *Cornwal*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Essex*, *Glocestershire*, *Hartfordshire*, *Herefordshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Lancashire*, *Middlesex*, *Monmouthshire*, *Norfolk*, *Northumberland*, *Oxfordshire*, *Surry*, *Shropshire*, *Southampton*, *Suffolk*, *Somersetshire*, *Sussex*, *Westmerland*, *Warwickshire*, *Torkshire*, *Anglesey*, *Brecknock*, *Cardiganshire*, *Carmarthenshire*, *Carnarvanshire*, *Denbighshire*, *Flintshire*, *Glamorganshire*, *Pembrokeshire*, *Montgomeryshire*, *Radnorshire*, and but one Knight of the Shire in each of the 9 following Counties, *Berkshire*, *Cheshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Kent*, *Leicestershire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Worcestershire*, and only the full number of Knights of the Shire in *Buckinghamshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Merionethshire*.

And *Tork*, *Westminster*, *Bristol*, *Canterbury*, *Chester*, *Exeter*, *Oxford*, *Lincoln*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, *Carlisle*, *Rocheester*, *Wells*, *Coventry*. had no Citizens in the House, and *London* had only 1 instead of 4, and *Glocester* and *Salisbury* alone of all the Cities in *England*, had their full Number, and by a parcel
of

of about 80 permitted to sit, was the whole *Clergy* as well as *Layety* of *Eng-land* Taxed.

Nor is it to be forgot that after the great Usurper by his own Authority, only laid a Tax of 60,000 *l. per Month* on us, he afterward found a *giving* Parliament that Calculating the Charge of the Nation, judged it in the whole to amount to 1300,000 *l. per Annum*, whereof 200,000 *l.* for the *Protectors* support, 400,000 *l.* for the maintenance of the Navy and Ports, and 700,000 *l.* for the Army, as we are told out of the *History of the Iron Age* printed in the year 1656: and that they who grudged the best of Kings the ordinary yearly Revenue of less then half a Million, were brought to settle more then double that Sum on the worst of Usurpers, viz. 1,300,000 *l. per Annum*, and that by their helping him into the Power to break the Ballance of Christendome as he did, they have entailed on us and our Heirs, a necessity of *labouring* hard for ever, to expiate the Guilt and Folly of their idle Politicks.

The Plenty and Pride and *Idleness* here that occasioned our Civil Wars, and the *Tessera* of one of the *Roman* Emperors, *Militemus*, and the various discriminating words and signs of Religion, have brought us to the *Tessera* of another of them which will stick by us, namely *Laboremus*.

But as 'tis to be seen in *Scobels Collection of Acts*, Anno 1656. cap. 6. in the humble Petition and advice of *Cromwel's* Parliament, the 7th Paragraph, which Enacts the Revenue, mentions nothing in particular of the 1,300,000 *l.* yearly, to be settled for the *Protectors* support, but provides that as a constant yearly Revenue for the support of the Government, and the safety and defence of these Nations by Sea and Land, 1000000 *l.* be settled for the Navy and Army, and 300,000 *l.* in general for the support of the Government.

I should not dilate on the Subject of those past Calamitous Times of our Country, but that so great a Number of those who experimented them, and were Actors or Sufferers therein is now dead, that this Age wants the *Poize* or Ballast of their experiences to keep it steady and secure, from being overset by Waves of Sedition, or Winds of *Doctrine*. There are several Latine Sayings about War, of which the Pedantly Citation is nauseous, as was particularly *Sorbiers* valuing himself on the *Motto* of *Pax bello Potior*: but there is another saying familiar to Grammar Schools, whence the most Oracular Men in Cabinets of State may, and indeed ought to take their Measures and Estimates of the probable Continuance of the publick Peace in any Country, and that is from the Consideration of the Numbers of the Inhabitants that never felt the misery of War, and that saying is, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, a saying that was thought to give an Ornament to the Monumental Inscription of our *Harry the 3d*, among the *Westminster* Monuments, the Epitaph of which Prince whose Reign moved so much in the bloody Track of War being there thus,

*Tertius Henricus jacet hic pietatis amicus.
Ecclesiam stravit istam quam post renovavit.
Reddat ei munus qui Regnat Trinus & unus.
Tertius Henricus est Templi conditor hujus, 1273:
Dulce bellum inexpertis.*

And long before that obtained as a Latin *Adage*, it was one in Greek, viz. Γλυκὺς ἀπειρῶ πόλεμος: and it is well said in *Vegetius De Re militari*, lib. 3. cap. 14. *Nec confidas satis si tyro prælium cupit. Inexpertis enim dulcis est pugna.*

And

And in *Pindar* 'tis said, Γλυκὺ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείροισιν, ἐμπείρων δὲ τις τὰρ εἰ προσιόντα νῦν καρδία περυσίῳ, i. e. *dulce bellum inexpertis, ast expertus quispam horret; si accesserit cordi supra modum.*

The sense of this weighty *Adage* *Horace*, applyes to the Contracting Friendship with Great Men,

*Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit.*

And no doubt but the reason that induced the *Romans* to place their *Tyrones* in the *Van* of the Battel, was that their not knowing all the uncertainties and horrors of War, would contribute to their eagerness in the onset. Partly to this purpose Mr. *Hobs* in his *Behemoth* or *History of our Civil Wars* observes well, That there were at first in the *Parliaments Army* a great many *London Apprentices*, who for want of experience in the War, would have been fearful enough of death and wounds approaching visibly in glistering Swords, but for want of judgement scarce thought of such death as comes invisibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.

And now therefore should any Great Person descend to ask my poor Opinion of the proportion of the danger we are in of a Relapse into the Plague of War, I would give it by bringing the Doctrine of *Dulce bellum*, &c. into use and application thus, namely, I would Calculate the number of the *inexperts* now here living, and who were not living in the time of the last War, a thing not hard to do sufficiently for my purpose: and thus I essayed to do it the last year when I fancied to employ my thoughts on that Subject, diverting my self with these *Queries*. 1. What part of the People of England now living, are *inexperts*, i. e. who are now alive that were born since the year in which our Wars ended, or were then Children, viz. Of such years as not to have experienced, or been sensible of the miseries and inconvenience of the War? 2. What numbers of those who lived in 1641, about which time the War may be supposed to have begun, are now dead? 3. What proportion of those now living, who lived in that time of the War, did gain by the War; for it may be said that perhaps War may be sweet to such surviving experts. 4. The War of Ireland ending about the year 1653, how many may the number of such *inexperts* there be supposed to be? 5. The People of Scotland being now above a Million (as are the People of Ireland) and the Scotch War ending at Worcester Fight, September the 3d, 1651. How many are now living in Scotland that lived there that day, and what may be the number of the *inexperts* there?

In order to the satisfying my self in these *Queries*, tho I know that many do make the Civil Wars of England to end with the surrender of Oxford in Mid-summer 1646, yet because several Acts of War in England were committed long after 1646, viz. in Lancashire, Kent, at Colchester, Worcester, I supposed not the English War to end till 1651, about the same time with that of Scotland, both Kingdoms as they are but one Island, so intermixing and bringing mutual Calamities on one another: and besides, a few years at that distance of time would not much alter the State of this Case: so then as to the first and last *Queries*, I thus concluded that the People of this Island in the year 1651, were and always are about one half of them under the age of 16, (before which time as they are reckoned unfit for War, so may they likewise be thought *inexperts* as to the miseries thereof) and the other half above that age; and that of this latter half more then one other Moyety are dead in these 28 or 29 years, which have passed from

from 51 to near 80. For if we reckon only *Arithmetically* without any Consideration of *Geometrical* proportion in the Case, (which with reason enough the *Observer* on the *Bills of Mortality* takes in) yet 28½ (the number of years in 51, in which the said half are supposed dead) and 27½ (for the years of the other half surviving) and fifteen (for the Age of the *Inexperts* from 1651) makes 72, the full Age of Man: so that the surviving *Experts* are not a fourth of the whole. And again at least one half of this fourth, either through forgetfulness by Age or Dotage, or for want of understanding all their whole life time, may be very well counted among the *Inexperts* also. And thus the *Inexperts* will be above seven eighth parts of the whole People.

And if in answer to the third *Query*, we shall add the Number of the Gainers by the War, (which perhaps some will estimate but small) and of those who lost by the Peace and Settlement on the Kings Restoration, with the Heirs, Executors and Principal Legatees of both, (and to these three last sorts, the War was so very sweet, that they may very well be reckoned for the Equivalent of three or four, or perhaps many times more the number of the other common *Inexperts*) we may on the whole matter judging modestly, conclude the *Inexperts* of all the former sorts, not to be less then (½) nine Tenths of the whole People: and to these also they who have spent their Estates, and cannot well live in Peace may be properly added.

I satisfied my self as to the fourth *Query*, concerning *Ireland*, that it may bear at least the same proportion, with what was asserted in relation to *Great Britain*: and tho the War in the former lasted some years longer, yet there are other Considerations obvious enough, that would more then ballance that.

As for the *Query* about how many are now dead who were living in 41, the Principles I have variously discoursed of out of the *Observations* on the *Bills of Mortality*, may easily satisfy Curiosity therein.

I account that of the Lords Temporal in the Kings Long Parliament, that sate the 8th of May, 1661. there were dead 77 at the Dissolution of that Parliament, in January the 25th, 1678. And of the 26 Bishops that sate on the 8th of May in that Parliament, only 2 were alive in the 25th of January, 1678. And of the *House of Commons* which sate in the 8th of May 1661. And consisted of about 520 odd Members there died during their sitting, viz. in 17 Years and 8 Months 307 Members, viz. in each year about 17th part, which is one in about 30 of the whole of that House every year.

And these things considered, we may well conclude that of the *Parliament* that sate on the 3d of November, 1640, there are few living, and I think that of that turbulent House of Commons, scarce 16 are now living, and that of the *Assembly of Divines* that met the first of July, 1643. all the *Divines* except 2 are dead. The Sculls of many of those hot Spurs of Church and State, that troubled us so much on the Stage of the World, have perhaps since diverted us in the Scene in *Hamlet*, and no doubt but of the poor handful of surviving *Experts* of them, the most considerate are not now considering how by any Projects to put the World either in Tune or out of it, but are tuning their fancies to the still Musick of the Grave.

We see that many of the Sons of the Divines of that *Assembly*, and of other Presbyterians, are true Sons of the Church of *England*, and are of the Clergy in it.

But tho I am no Concurrer with their Estimates, that make the number of those who gain'd by the War to be small, for as the Judicious Author of the

Regal Apology, Printed in the Year 1648, (and by the *Oxford Antiquities* said to be, Dr. Bate the late Eminent *Physitian*) in p. 49 estimates, *That the Revenues of King, Queen, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents in the hands of those Usurpers were almost one Moiety of the Kingdom, besides many rich Offices, &c* and as to the multiplicity of Offices then, a very ingenious Pamphlet written in those days, call'd the *City Alarum*, with a *Treatise of the Excise*, mentions in p. 33. *That 'twas easie to demonstrate that more then 200,000 l. per Annum, was then consumed by superfluous Officers :* (which by the way sufficiently shews the ill Managery of the publick Treasure in those days) and tho I have put the rate of the Heirs of such above that of common *Inexperts*, yet I am not without hopes that possibly some what like a sort of *Experience*, that many of those Heirs have from the latest Histories and Traditional Accounts had of the breath of the People having blown away that mighty *Ballance* of Land out of the hands of the unjust Possessors, and all their *Models* of Government built thereon, and of many of their Ancestors who had by their Swords acquired ample shares of the Spoyles of the Crown, and Church, and Cavaliers Estates, growing ashamed of their unjust Victories, and the Yoke they have brought upon themselves and the Kingdom, and affraid of their Estates and Liberties, not being ensurable under a fluctuating Military Oligarchy, thought it the best of their Game to aspire with their *All* to the feet of their Lawful Sovereign, and to be his Restorers without Capitulation, may incline a considerable part of such, and who are not desperate in their Fortunes, and have perhaps inherited the Blessing of their Ancestors penitence, by their Peaceable Morals to make such an exception in this case, as may confirm the Rule and make them according to the expression before used, become *sound parts of the State.*

Another momentous thing cannot but be obvious to the thoughts of the Considerate among them, and all Orders or Parties of men here, that if the devesting the unjust Proprietors of about half the Land of *England*, by the necessary Course of the Law at the Kings Restoration, did in making so many persons and their dependants *Paupers*, and useless in the improvement of the Land, and many to be Nuisances in it, as troublesome Solicitors and Barretors, and many likewise to withdraw to our Forraign Plantations, and to our *insula Sanctorum* call'd *Ireland*, unavoidably make the price of our Land sink to the proportion it hath since done, that if any Sons of *Belial* and disloyal persons, should be ever able by a new *Commotion* to introduce the old Confusions among us, and dispossess the Proprietors of about half our Land as formerly, that *England* it self would turn *Ireland*, and our Land perhaps be valuable but at ten years purchase.

And tho the *Experts* now in being among us are comparatively few, yet is the work of the Loyal part of them so easie to demonstrate to their Vicinage, every where the dreadful inconvenience of essaying to mend the World by War, that one *Harvy* could not more easily among the judicious, propagate a general Notion of the *Circulation* of the Blood, then may a thousand of these shew to Millions of others, the impious folly of *Blood guiltiness* again incircling our Land, and especially when all our Blood and our Treasure is necessary to be preserved for the Defence of the Realm, in a Conjunction that hath put Christendom in *procinctu* : and therefore 'tis but according to the Course of Nature, that in such a season the generality of Peoples minds here should manifest such an *Abhorrence* of both the *Irish* and *English* in 41, and that the *Religion-Trade* which had us at its feet, being now at ours, if it should again struggle to get uppermost as formerly, is to expect from so many to find the salute of the rising blow.

And

And as I love to think of these things without asperity, or offering the least Violence to the Sacredness of the great Established *Amnesty*, so do I observe the same inclination to be very prevalent among the weightier persons of the several Parties.

The smallness of the Number of Persons now living that wanted that *Amnesty*, makes men generally concur in not esteeming it, *tanti* to wish it broken; but tho' most of our former Empirical State-Physicians are covered with Earth, their Errors are not, and People seem generally sensible that both the present, and in likelyhood the future State of *England* will not allow of Political Physicians, trying more Experiments on us, and particularly the former churlish ones that succeeded ill, and especially in a Conjunction when nature is by necessity leading us to a Convalescence.

As in *Boccalines Politick Touch-stone*, Where the Monarchy of Spain is represented, throwing her Physician out of the Window, and *Apollo* desiring to know the Cause of it, she told him how about 40 years ago, she asking Counsel of her Physician, he prescribed her a tedious and chargeable Purge of drivers Oyls of Holy Leagues, of Insurrections of People, of Rebellions, of Cauteries and other very painful Medicines that had wasted and weakened her spirits, and that he prescribing just such another Purge as before, was therefore thrown out at Window, so would such Purges and such Purgers as we were troubled with forty years ago, be here deservedly dealt with now.

How ridiculous will any Demagogue now appear, that should in an *English* Parliament harangue it against supplying the King, in such a manner as Sir *John Elliot* and Mr. *Pym* did 4th *Carol*, who then (as *Rushworth's* Collections tells us) moved in the House of Commons not to yield the King Tunnage and Poundage, till they had first settled Religion, touching the Points of *Ariminianism*.

They might as well have moved that the King might have no Money, till they had found out the Longitude, and likewise discovered the Quadrature of the Circle, and they by that motion would have ensured to him the name of *Pochi-Dinari*, that my Lord *Herbert* in his *Harry* the 8th says, was given to *Maximilian* the Emperor, for his famed want of Money.

But that wantonness of Popularity, did shew the worse in those two great Demagogues of their Age, for the ingratitude it carried with it, they moving so in the House of Commons as they did so soon after the great Royal Concessions as to the *Petition of Right*, and might well excuse the Great Earl of *Strafford's* then quitting their Company.

But I shall here observe to your Lordship, that after the discovery of the Gun-powder Treason, viz. 3 *Jacobi*, the Parliament gave him three Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths of the Layety, and four Subsidies of the Clergy, all which by estimation amounted to 453000*l*. and it was but just in them then so to supply the Crown after the detection of that Conspiracy, because it appeared by several Examinations, That if it had taken effect, an Association of Forraign Roman Catholick Princes by a Solemn Oath like that of the Holy League in France, was designed to have assured the business afterward: and it was but natural for the Parliament believing the same, to enable their Prince with a Counter mine of Gold, to blow up the Associated Purses of those Forraign Princes; and no doubt but by the very Noise of that liberal Supply being heard abroad in the World, that Association was Thunder-struck, as any one else must be in a Conjunction when the Nations abroad shall see our Prince provided with effects, as King *James* was as aforesaid, a Conjunction I despair not of seeing, nor of its influencing the World with Terror as did the very sound of the supplying the King by the last *Pole-Act*, to enable him for a War with France, and which was the Cause

Cause that the *Panic Fear* in some of our rustical *Plebs* of the *French* landing in the *Isle* of *Purbec*, and when some of the poor adjacent *Mobile*, in the air or their fancies heard the noise of *adventare Gallos*, as *Alexander ab Alexandro, genialium dierum*, l. 3. c. 14. saith, *Gallis etiam Senonibus ad urbem properantibus in novâ viâ ubi alloquutionis postea templum fuit, vocem auditam quæ Gallos adventare diceret, inter exempla relatum est*, was not more opprobrious then that fear of the *French* that march'd off an Army and Royal Fleet so abruptly out of *Scicily*, when they heard a voice of *Adventare Anglos* (which evaporating of the *French* Forces from thence, as it was a sufficient indication that there was no perfect love between our Kings great Minister of that time, and the *French* Ministers, for perfect love casts out fear, and had there been any perfect good understanding between him and them, the nois'd *Adventare Anglos* would not have exorcised them out of the body of that Kingdom) so it perhaps proved an occasion of the perfect *French* Hatred against his Lordship, that he so satisfactorily acquainted our *English* World with in one of his solid and sinnewy Printed Vindications) and I do believe that the future Warlike State of Christendom, will necessarily prompt all that affect to be *Patriots*, instead of studying to make men unwilling to promote publick supplies, to bend their brains in the way of *Calculation* to shew what the Kingdom is able to contribute to its defence, and how to do it with equality in Taxes and Levyes, and that he will appear the most popular man who shall shew our Representatives, how and in what proportion the Rateable parts of Mens Estates may be rated, a thing that I hear Sir W. P. in his Manuscript called, *Verbum sapienti*, has essayed to do, and given his Sentiment, that supposing a *Million* should ever be raised in *England*, there should be Levyed on the

	m.	l.	
Lands. —————	216	viz. —	$\frac{1}{3}$ of the Rent.
Cattle. —————	54	viz. —	$\frac{1}{600}$
Personal Estate ———	60	viz. —	$\frac{1}{60}$
Housing. —————	45	viz. —	12 d a Chimney in London, 10d without the Liberties: 6d in Cities and Towns, and 4d elsewhere.

People ————— 625 at 2s. 1d per Head, or rather a Poll of 6d and 19d Excise, which is not full $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the mean expence, and he doth there Chap. 9. §. 7. with great Judgment insinuate, That the over-favourable taxing personal faculties and Estates makes Plebeians richer and surlier, and that the effect of which may be feared as a tendency to Democracy.

How favourably such Estates were Taxed when *Subsidies* were in use, I have shewed, and how very little they came to in the Execution of the last Poll Bill is fresh in Memory, and yet in the *Dutch* Republic, when the States raise an extraordinary Tax sometimes of the 1000th, sometimes of the 500th, sometimes of the 200th part of every Mans Estate richer or poorer, and men are Taxed therein according to Common Fame and Report by their Magistrates of their several Cities and Towns, and the Party grieved at his Assessment declaring on his Oath that his Estate is not worth so much will be always relieved, it is very rarely seen that any man makes himself poorer then common Report speaks him, by means whereof that Tax is very considerable: and therefore for us to debase our Government by the making of that Tax so low, when they advance theirs, by cheerfully making it so high, will to the Loyal Lovers of our Monarchy naturally in time seem unreasonable.

I believe then that he will be the most Celebrated Parliament-man, that can in any *Money-Bills* direct the making the *Levy* generally proportionable, (according to that saying *in pari jugo facilis est tractus*) and can in the Debate of any *Book of Rates*, provide against the danger of a clogging of Trade, which he who takes wrong measures in burthening, doth (as one saith) put a pound Weight at the end of a Pole, which is heavier then twenty times so much placed at the hand, and doth thereby work down Land Revenues, more then the Sums actually paid, &c. and can demonstrate what burden the People can well bear, and that Parliamentary Imposts may be put on them in the way that men use to lade the *Camel* when he lies down, so as he may cheerfully rise up with his burden, and how that which is the *second Principal Conclusion* in Sir W. P's *Political Arithmetick*, viz. That some kind of Taxes and publick Levies, may rather encrease then diminish the Common-wealth, may be render'd applicable to us, (and in his explicating which Conclusion he doth not as a Propounder, but as one having Authority, namely, that of Reason, Instance in three various Taxes for England, Scotland and Ireland, that would encrease the wealth of the same) and how, to provide for Equality in Taxes, Mens Estates may be as accurately weighed as they were of old by the Roman Prudence, which for that purpose instituted the Office of *Censors* (and when in the *Censuses* the Civil Law ordered the *Censors* Estimates to be registred, and both the *bona Mobilia* and *Immobilia* to be registred, and even the Sums of Money at Interest to be registred and the names of the Debtors, and this upon Oath, and in the registration of Lands their true value was set down and how they were fertile or barren, and every Tax was Collected where the Estimate was made) and that the *Quota* of Taxes might not be sunk by Peoples being return'd as real or feign'd *Paupers*, the whole City was ratably Taxed to make up the *Capitation* or Pole-money for *Paupers*, and that the People might be exactly numbered, and all this to be done every five years, the time when new *Censors* entered into their Office, and to which the word *lustration* refers, and how to Copy out the *Politics* of the House of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's time, when the securing the Protestant Interest at home and abroad, made them so inclinable to look on the giving her Money to be the great *quid agendum*, and on which they thought depended both the Law and the Prophets in the English Tongue, and when as we are told it in *Townsend's Collections* very great masterly skill was shewn in Debates as to the proportioning the Taxes, and particularly by those great Masters, Sir Walter Raleigh, Secretary Cecil, Mr. Francis Bacon, and when Cecil accurately Calculated in the house how much a Levy came to wherein the Respective *Quota's* laid on Land and Goods were mentioned by him, and more skill was really shewn in Proportions and Estimates of the Publick Money to be raised then has by some Parliaments in this Age, been endeavoured after or perhaps so much as pretended to.

The long Parliament of 1640. seem to me in their Taxes in London, and the Associated Counties to have provided only that their concern in the Kingdom might *vivere in diem*, but hath occasioned the disproportionate and immoderate weight of the Taxes in some places of those Counties to be perpetual. And the prodigious Taxes laid on the Inhabitants of London, during the War after 41 did not end with it, insomuch that Lilly the Astrologer in his vile Book of *Monarchy, or no Monarchy in England*, Printed in the Year 1651. saith in p. 92. My proportion in the Ship-money was 22 s. and no more, but now my Annual Payments to the Souldiery are very near or more than 20 l, my Estate being no way greater than formerly.

In the Parliament in *Anno Domini* 1605. and *Anno Reg. Jac. 3.* there was passed an *Act* for the granting 3 entire Subsidies and six fifteenths and tenths granted by the Temporality to his Majesty, with the Reasons why granted, and the great advantages his Majesty hath been to the Kingdom. And in the *Act* it is *inter alia* said, *A first and principal Reason is, that late and monstrous Attempts of that cursed Crew of desperate Papists, to have destroyed your Excellent Majesty, the Queen and your Royal Progeny, together with the Reverend Prelates, Nobility and Commons of this Land; assembled in Parliament, to the great Confusion and Subversion of this Kingdom. The barbarous Malice in some unnatural Subjects, we have thought fit to check and encounter with the certain demonstration of the universal and undoubted love of your Loyal and Faithful Subjects, not only for the present to breed in your Majesty a more confident assurance of our uttermost Aids, in proceeding with a Princely Resolution to repress them and to furnish your Majesty against Hostile Attempts both by Sea and Land, but also for the future times, to give their Patrons and Partakers to understand that your Majesty can never want in this Kingdom means of defence of your Rights, Revenge of your Wrongs, and support of your Estate.*

They had immediately before said, *We do further think fit to add and express these reasons special and extraordinary, which have moved us hereunto, lest the same our doing may be brought into precedent to the prejudice of the State of our Country, and our Posterity.*

As hidebound as King James found Parliaments afterward (for as I said) he in his Speech in Parliament *Anno* 1620 mentioned, *That in all his Reign he had but 4 Subsidies and six Fifteenths*, yet their Belief of that Popish Gun-powder Plot fired the Zeal of their Supplies, and (as I may say too) made their Money burn in their Pockets, and pass with speed into the Exchequer, and with a *Salvo* to the Caution about not drawing that *Act* into a President, &c. Had I been in the Parliament that sate after the Discovery of the last Popish Plot, I should have moved that the belief of that Plot might have shewn it self by works of supply to the King, especially considering that the Protestant Interest was then abroad, *inter sacrum & saxum*, and do hope that the belief thereof will so shew it self in any Parliament his Majesty shall call, that we shall that way Expostulate with the *quare fremuerunt Gentes*, abroad against the Protestant Religion. And such a golden Age do I expect for the Crown from future Parliaments, that I believe that nothing of Prerogative that safeguards the Kingdom, will be ask'd as the price of any Supplies, and that as I thought it very absurd in a Country Fellow, when he called for a quantity of an Opiate Medicine his Doctor had prescribed, to ask angrily, *shall I have no more for my Money?* when as if he had had more it would have poisoned him, it will generally appear as absurd on any Supplies to swallow up so much of the executive part of the Regal Power, as would prove in effect destructive to the Body Politick.

We shall have so much occasion to come for shelter under the Branches of Regal Power, that we shall not be tempted by any leisure to lay its roots bare. And considering that even in Republicks both Ancient and Modern, there hath been a *Parenthesis* of Dictatorian or Monarchic Power in times of War, and that all the times that all the living now in Christendom are to be fencing with all the way in their March to the Grave, may perhaps be times of War, I may well account that the *Sir Politics* will every where appear ridiculous, who shall trouble the World with Models of Republicks, *Agrarian Laws*, and *Rotations*, and spending time in the contrivance of *Ballotting Boxes*, and raise a dust in mens eyes with the *Ballance* of Land at home, when we shall be

be forced still to look out sharp to keep the Ballance of Power exact in the whole World abroad, and shall think time better imployed in notions of the building great Capital Ships to defend our Interest; in and by the Ocean, then in furnishing such little wooden ware for a Fantastick *Oceana*, and shall essay from an *Oceana* or *Utopia* to introduce an Establishment of one Assembly only to *propose*, and another only to Enact such things as the other shall *propose*, a thing that an *English* House of Commons would naturally as much loath as to be tyed from eating any meat, but what a House of Lords should chew for them; and yet is this divided or *double-bottom* Supream Power of the two Assemblies by our Airy *Dreamers* made essential for the preventing the *Divulsion* of their Government. I lately mentioned the *proponentibus legatis* to be the thred of Controversie that ran through the whole Council of *Trent*, and he who reads all Father *Pauls* History of it, will find that question to animate the whole, and to be there, *tota in toto* and as it were all in every part of it. The chiefest of the *Cardinals* were the Popes *Legates* in that Council, and they were by their Interest tied sufficiently to *propound* nothing but what should promote the Papal Power, but in *Book 6th* 'tis said, *That the Pope had advice from his Nuntio in Spain, that the most Catholick King was much displeased with the Style of Proponentibus legatis, allowed in the first Session, and that the Pope excused it as introduced without his privity, but that however he would not quit it nor have it permitted that every turbulent person there might propound what he pleased.* And there in *Book 7th* 'tis said, *That the Pope on further application from the Ambassadors of Princes that that Clause might be damned, as contrary to the liberty of Ambassadors and Bishops in propounding what they thought profitable, those for their States and these for their Churches, the Pope gave them good words about it but did nothing,* and *Book 10th, The Spanish Ambassador desiring the Retraction of that Clause, and that otherwise the Council could not be called free, and that its freedom was to be dated only from the time of such Retraction, and that the Emperor insisted on its abrogation, and that by reason of that Clause no German had yet come to that Council, yet nothing was effected for its revoking, and still the Proponentibus legatis stood as a Rock, and all their Adresses dash'd themselves in pieces, producing nothing but the froath of excusatory words from the Pope about it: and in fine all that could be gained was, in the end of the Council, after that Clause had had its full effect, and done all its Execution against the freedom of the Council, and particularly of the Ambassadors and Bishops there, and was like a Post-horse ridd to his Stage, and had brought all the Cloak-bags with the Holy Ghost from Rome, to turn it to grass with a Formal Declaration or Protestation contrary to Fact, that the meaning of the Synod was not by that Clause to change in any part the usual manner of handling matters in general Councils; &c.* A crying *Con licencia* to the Bishops and Ambassadors after the cutting of the Throats of their Liberties. And now can any *Opiniatre* yet further think that a Representative of *English* Commoners will ever think those Republican Projectors of liberty, who do bare faced cut them off from the freedom of their share in Enacting any thing but what another House shall *propound*, and that nothing shall have the Sanction of Law, but what enters the Stage with a *proponentibus Patriciis*, or by the *Proposition* of any other House, the Style of one of *Cromwells* two Houses, and who do set up for Inventors in Politics by reviving the exploded Constitution of the *Athenians* among whom *Anacharsis* observed, *Wise men did consult and Fools determine.*

But

But the days are pass'd and gone, that gave People of subtle and uneasy Brains the leisure of digging in Politics further than the Center, which whoever doth, digs not downward but upwards, and that Center I account the ancient *lex terræ* to be, and he who hath got beyond that doth digging upwards destroy the real Foundations of Churches and States, while he is laying imaginary ones.

But since according to the saying *in hieme nil movendum*, men of Sense who love to be tampering with Physick in other seasons, will in that be averse from stirring the humours and trying Conclusions on themselves and in the churlish State of the World abroad that is in prospect, all State Empirics that would any where advise a change of Fundamental Governments, will find an unruly Patient of the World, and all our sober Political *Virtuosi* will be necessarily inclined to study how to maintain and support our old Government, instead of projecting any new one. And in order to the support of our old one, I dare say that there will be no more suspension of Royal Aids on the account of the *Arminian* Controversie, or the freedom of our Wills, while we are busied in preparing to defend the freedom of our Estates and Bodies from Forraigners, and securing both Prince and Peoples not being predestinated to ruine by them.

The Extinguishing the maintenance of the Clergy will not pass for a new Evangelical *Light*, but the exactest provision for the Enabling Crown'd Heads to support their Civil Government and their Clergy, and with the observance of equality and proportion in the same respecting the State of their Kingdoms, will be worthy the thoughts of the most *illuminated* Doctors: for as among the Divines it is on all hands agreed, that from the 40th Chap. of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* to the end of that Book, the thing chiefly designed in the Portraiture of the great *Vision* of the Prophet is to represent the figure of Church and State under the Gospel, so there is great proportion kept in the same, and not only the curious colouring but the exactness of draught and design required in a great Historical Painting; and no wonder if the same appeared so express'd on the Table of the Prophets imagination, when God himself was pleas'd there to paint it partly after the exactness and proportion of the Jewish Oeconomy, and with many Additions of Curiosity, and to which tho a literal interpretation is not applicable, and on which tho no expectance of the Erektion of another material Temple at *Jerusalem* or in *Judea* is to be founded, or of 12000 Reeds of Land for the Temple and Priests, yet may it thence be naturally inferred that the preserving of orderly proportion in the Revenue of the Prince and Priest, and with respect to number Weight and Measure in the Future times of the Gospel, was then the care and design of Providence. The 45th Chapter that doth so nicely assign the Portion, for the Prince and Priest, ordains or rather predicts a Royal Patrimony for the Prince in the way of a balance of Land, as 'tis said in the 8th Verse, *In the Land shall be his Possession in Israel, and my Princes shall no more oppress my People, and the rest of the Land shall they give to the House of Israel according to their Tribes.*

The consideration of this may probably reforme the men of curious imagination who are still making the Metal of Government more fine than the Standard, and thinking to leave out there the necessary Mixture of the baser alloy that the frail State of humanity requires to make it currant, and without which it would be too brittle for use, and projecting how to make the Government of Church and State with ease to live upon nothing, or on Taxes in a confused and blundering manner laid, when the thought of an inspired Prophet in this *Vision* relating to the time of the Gospel the which is called by the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *the time of Reformation*

tion applied all the exactness of Mathematics to the supporting both the Crown, and use of the Keys by an ample and certain Revenue. And as the great Tax of Augustus on the Roman World or *annuiti* by way of Capitation or Pole near the time of our Saviors Birth, served to confirm the Christian Religion in the accomplishment of the Prediction of Christs being born in Bethlem, and to cause Joseph and Mary's going thither, a-resembling effect in the Confirmation of the most rational kind of the Christian Religion, I mean the Protestant, do I expect from our Future Legal and Equal Taxes; and as I mentioned my Lord Bacon's saying of the Parliaments being yet in debt to the Church since Harry the 8ths time, so it may perhaps as justly be said that they are in debt to the Crown for the safety of the Protestant Religion since Queen Elizabeth's, who as I have been informed from some well Vers'd in our Exchequer Records) alienated more of the Patrimony of the Crown than any English Prince ever did, and that in order to her raising those great Sums before mentioned, which were necessary for the securing the Protestant Religion, and rivetting it in fast to our Laws and Government; and I am the more apt to credit such my Information because I see not by what other way she could raise those vast Sums, but by such alienation of the Crown Lands, her ordinary expences, probably coming near such her receipts, which one may partly guess by what Sir Robert Cotton in his abstract of the Records of the Tower touching the Kings Revenue affirms, (*Ex Computo Dom. Burleigh Thesaurar.*) that Anno 12, her Revenue besides the Wards, and Dutchy of Lancaster was 188197 l. 4 s. and the Payments and Assignments were 110612 l. 13 s. of which the Household was 30000 l. Privy Purse 2000 l. Admiralty 30000 l. and Sir Robert Cotton in that Book mentions that she did pawn her Jewels in the Tower, and often mortgage her Land: which no doubt she was constrained to do for the great end aforesaid, her ordinary Revenue and extraordinary Supplies of Subsidies not being adequate to the great Sums that her Measures of State and Religion caus'd her to expend. And to how low an Ebb the Crown Lands were fall'n in the late Kings time, from what they were in the 12th year of her Reign (and when they were perhaps about 200,000 l. per Annum) appears in a Book of Mr. Christopher Ver, on an Exchequer man dedicated to Sir John Culpeper under Treasurer of his Majesties Exchequer, where 'tis said that the Revenues of the Kings Lands now in charge before his Majesties Auditors, amounted in the whole to 100,000 l. per Annum, and consisted then for the most part of Fee-Farms and certain Rents.

I have before mentioned that she laid the Foundation of the Protestant Religion, being here *semper eadem*: & as in the Metropolis of Holland the Foundation of a House ordinarily costs as much as the superstructure, thus expenceful to the Crown did the Foundation of Protestantism by her prove: and she needed not the Precaution in these words of St. Luke, *For which of you intending to build a Tower, sits not down first and counts the cost whether he hath sufficient to finish it, lest happily after he hath laid the Foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish.* She laid the Foundation of our English Gospel so deep in the Law of the Land, that (God be thanked) the Romanists have not been able to mock it further then by calling it a *Parliament-Religion*, and by my consent let them that way still mock on, and I shall mock at them who think that any Religion but protestantism here will ever have a *Parliamentary Sanction*: and if Popery had not been a *Parliamentary Religion* here in the *Marian* dayes, her Reign had not (as I may say) been infamous by the occasion of any Noble Army of Martyrs, nor the Eclipse, of Justice and Mercy, and the English good nature in her vile *Quinquennium* been made an *Epoche* of

Horror in the *English* Story, as great *Eclipses* of old in *Chronology*, like notches in the Line of Time for Mens Memories to fasten on, served as dates of *Epoches* to measure it by; and setting aside some just ground of fear of Poperies being here permitted by Heaven to be an *Epidemical* opinion of Religion, as a just Punishment of such defection from Morality, I think the fear of the Kingdoms being Shipwrack't on it, and sustaining thereby such persecution as was in *Bohemia*, would be as much to be mocked as *Shakespears* Shipwrack in *Bohemia*, and the fear of the Writ *De hæretico comburendo* grillading any more Christians be as ridiculous as *Lithgows* mentioning in his *Travels*; that in a hot Country he saw Geese roasted in and by the Sun.

But My Lord (raillery apart) the Protestant Religion that before Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign was only like a *Picture* hanging on the Wall, and easie to be removed without Fatal Prejudice to the Kingdom, hath since been so incorporated into our Laws, and the heart of our Politicks, that like the old *Fresco* Painting appearing on Walls and there wrought deeply in, it cannot be removed but with the Wall it self: and whatever Popish *Bishops* or *Judges* any Prince of that persuasion may possibly hereafter appoint, they must till some of our *Acts* of Parliament can be Repeal'd, which declare Popery to be against God's Law, give Judgment, that it is so; accordingly as 'tis rationally resolved in *Vaughan's* Reports in the Case of *Thomas Hill* vers. *Thomas Good*, where 'tis occasionally said, *That if a Marriage be declared by Act of Parliament to be against God's Law, we must admit it to be so, for by a Law, that is, by an Act of Parliament it is so declared.*

There is nothing I am more ashamed of in many Protestants who pass for first-rate ones, and carry not only sworn Sails of Profession of it but *Flaggs* as Demagogues, then to see them as I said value themselves on their excessive Fears of Papists and Popery. I would wish that such intimidated Protestants (if really they suffer that *Passion*, and are afraid of the Fire of those *Faggots*, that they are more distant in nature from, then from the heat of Mount *Ætna*, and talk after the Rate of the *Martyr* in his Letter to *Cranmer*, that they must prepare to hold out to the Fire *Inclusive*) would not by their pittiful ill boding fears stain the Noble *Prophecies* of some *English* Martyrs, when the Fire was kindled about them at the Stake. The *Acts* and *Monuments* will tell them how at the Martyrdom of *Ridley* and *Latimer*, *That when a Faggot was kindled with fire and laid down at Ridleys Feet, Latimer spake to him in these words, Be of good comfort Mr. Ridley, and play the man; We shall this day light such a Candle in England, as I trust shall never be put out.* But what is somewhat more extraordinary and which I remember not to have heard any one observe out of the *Acts* and *Monuments*, is in the Relation of the Tryal of *Roger Holland* a Merchant-Taylor of *London*, how Bishop *Bonner* heard him say after the Sentence of Condemnation was read, *God hath heard the Prayer of his Servants which hath been poured forth with Tears for his afflicted Saints, whom you daily persecute. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, which by his Spirit I am moved to say, that God will shorten your hand of Cruelty, &c. For after this day in this place shall there not be any by you put to the Tryal of Fire and Faggot: and Mr. Fox saith, That after that day there never was one that suffered in Smithfield for the Testimony of the Gospel.*

And the Prophetic *Impetus* of *George Sophocard* a Scotch Minister was very remarkable (as *Buchanan* in his 15th Book of his History relates it) and when the Cardinal in Scotland and his Train of Priests were Spectators of the Tragedy of the *Martyr*, he fixed his eye on the Cardinal and said, *That the Cardinal who there gazeth on me with so much Pomp and Pride, within a few days shall fall there with more Ignominy then he now sits with State, and*

so it fell out that the Cardinals Carcase was shortly dragged with infamy by that very place.

It is somewhat natural for dying men, and perhaps for all unfortunate men to offer at *Prophecy*. They who have good Cards dealt them in one Game, trouble not themselves to *Prophecy* that they shall have either good or bad ones in the next; and few who have sound minds in sound bodies and with sound Estates, can tune their thoughts to *Divination*. But as I would not rashly embrace, so neither would I trample on the Predictions of Pious men in their last Agonies, and particularly of what they who are Gods Witnesses or *Martyrs* Predict about the Cause of Religion: for it is the Lot of Witnesses in any Cause, to be frequently entrusted with the Secrets of it. But however the most raised Intenseness of Humane Nature near its period in any men may tempt them to believe that the things they wish to the World will have their certain Birth in it, yet whether God doth then inspire them with the knowledge of *Futurity* I know not: but know that the very Prediction of Future things from dying men of valued Fame, is according to natural Causes, an Engin in the hand of Fate to bring the things predicted to an accomplishment. For it being found that Sagacious men on the Confines of *Eternity* have foretold any alterations in the World, such as wish the same will think them first possible, and then by degrees likely, and then by the next thought certain to come to pass, and that therefore they are safe by Heavens Office of Ensurance that their Embarquing in Designs to bring those things into practice will be prosperous. However when we see those *Martyrs* both living in Story, and their Predictions in Nature, and when our *Martyrology* hath represented to us with what an Heroick Bravery their Souls flew up to Heaven from the Flames, like the *Eagles* cut loose and Towing aloft from the Funeral Piles of the *Roman Emperors* as they were going to be made *Divi*, can we be dispirited by dull fears and suppositions of Protestancy, and our Laws loosing their Vigour, and be *Proditors* of the honour of our dying *Martyrs*? I do rather both hope and believe that as dead mens Sculls do serve to strengthen the heads and feet of the *Epileptick* living, that the ashes of those *Marian Martyrs* will confirm the faltring paces of our weaker Protestants from staggering into an excess of the fears of Popery.

And as in the Hospitals of the mad it is often seen that an *Hypochondriac* Person whom irrational fears and fancied dangers brought thither, is by a real danger, imminent on his Family or Estate, frightening him into his Senses led out from thence; such a Restoration of People to their Wits, do I expect from the present and probable Future State of Christendom, and that it will necessarily rescue us from unnecessary fears as likewise from all Curiosities, that would imply our ingratitude to Heaven while we would illegally mend our own Country after the example of other parts of the World that is almost the only quiet part in it: and *Propounders* will I believe every day grow more out of request who would make Earthquakes by telling us of the danger of falling Skies. It may perhaps be rationally estimated that the greatest part of mad men becomes such by extravagant *Suppositions*, and that the *Quid si Cælum ruat* is the Foundation of most *Bedlams*, and likewise the subversion of most States by Intestine War, making them appear as much the *Ludibrium* of Fortune, as was the Story'd Fate of the two *Brothers* killing one another on occasion, tho not of falling Skies, yet of their imaginations travelling thither, and ones *Supposition* of his having Pasture Ground as spacious as the Firmament, and the others of his having as many Sheep as there were Stars there, and his demanding their being pastured there, and fatally resenting its being denyed him.

What

What a grave piece of madness is it in the common *Writers of Politics* to make it a kind of Proverbial saying, as I find it used by *Reinkingh* in his *Tractatus de Regimine seculari & ecclesiastico* as well as by other dull Learned *Writers of Politics*, namely, that a Prince may be resisted *Si navem Réip. in quâ ipse cum subditis navigat, perforare velit.* 'Tis a degree of madness to suppose it; and the like I thought of a *Supposition* in a Pamphlet printed not long after our 41 *Commotion*, and called *Observations on some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses*, where in p. 4. 'tis gravely said, *That if a Generalissimo should turn his Cannons upon his own Soldiers, they might disobey him, &c.* or thus supposing with *Gerson*, *That if the Pope goes to strike and box any one,* or with *Alacius de Privileg.* l. 1. c. 8. that if the *Emperor* doth so, that it is lawful in such Case to lay violent hands on either of them, and thence gravely to conclude that the *Party* so uncivilly and outrageously treated becomes thereby the *Deputy and Lieutenant to nature*, which is a common and equal *Sovereign to them all*, as one Persons words of inference in this Case are from those *Authors*.

Bodin doth therefore very wisely in his *De Rep.* check the affected wisdom in a *Venetian* Edict against two *Banditi* who were *Father and Son*, and offering the *Son* his Liberty and Estate if he would bring in his *Fathers* head: and being angry with the *supposition* of such a things being done saith, *That 'twere better that the whole City of Venice had been swallowed up by the Sea then that it should have rewarded so detestable a Villany.*

But it is a madness for any to trouble the World by putting wanton impossible Cases, and extending the Gold of Reason to such a thinness that will make it lose its weight and value.

To an over subtle Case put, that blundering Answer of a Lawyer was good enough, *Non est ejusmodi casus dabilis.* Mr. *Hobs* in his *Behemoth* doth to the Question, *What if my Prince should command me with my own hands to execute my Father, in case he should be condemned by the Law,* answer well enough, *this is a Case that need not be put. We never have read or heard of any King or Tyrant, so inhumane as to command it.*

But I will suppose better things of the Future State of *England*, then to believe it will ever suffer such real madness and real dangers, as formerly from *Suppositions* and *Fictions*, not of *Law* but of *Injury*, and when some injurious *Demagogues* did often acquire both Popular Air and bread by their but seeming to suppose what they seduced the people really to do, and to be really thereby impoverished.

When I think how some men by false Alarmes of suppositions, would for the lengthening their Interests, lengthen the fears of any persons, and among Mortal men make the dangers of Plots immortal, I call to mind that 'tis not very long ago that a Forraigner who was Phyfician to King *Charles* the First, I mean Sir *Theodore Mayerne* occasioned an Universal Out-cry of the Disease of the *Spleen* here, and was observed in many Cases where the Disease proceeded from the fowlness of the Stomach or other Causes, yet to attribute it to that part of the Body which tho all *Animals* have yet most if not all may live without, I mean the *Spleen*, but however he got his Living thereby and so plentifully, that it may be said, that he (as it were) made the *Spleen*, and the *Spleen* made him. And thus doth a *Spleen* of some Popish Sham-Plots, and the continuance of the fears and danger from a true one, make some persons perhaps who made the former and the continuance of the fear of the latter: and such State Empyricks would be as much impoverished by the utter abolishing of the same, as some of our great Merchants who Trade in Companies and with Convoys, would be if there were no *Argeer*; but as the swelling of the *Spleen* proves the emaciating of the other parts

parts of the Body, so hath the swoln *Spleen* of the Popish-Plot, particularly not more enriched some Merchants that Traded therein, than it hath impoverished the Kingdom in general, and I do believe that a Tax of a Million of Money raised in *England* in the way before mentioned, would not have been universally so heavy a burthen as the Popish-Plot in its Effects and Consequences hath been.

But what by the bravery of the *English Genius* to which (as was said) the continuance of any sort of fear is unnatural, and despair which generally grows from Sloth and Cowardize appearing so dull a thing (humane Nature being apt easier to descend into it, than to ascend by presumption) and what by Peoples being Convinced of the smallness of the Papists numbers here comparatively, and of the ridiculousness of the rumour'd greatness thereof in particular places, as for example, of there being 60,000 *Papists* in *St. Martins* Parish, where there dying ordinarily about 2000 in a *Year*, there cannot be judged to live 60000 Souls of Men, Women, and Children, according to the *Rule* of 1 in 30 dying each year, and what by the late great *divulsion* of the *double bottom* of the *Pope* and the *Jesuites* appearing by his Decree of *March* the 2d before mentioned, (which makes all thinking People as much to expect its Shipwrack as do the throngs of the *Plebs* resorting to the shore in Tempests expect the Ruine of Navigating Vessels, and to look on *Papisme* as saying in effect to *Jesuitisme, nec tecum, nec sine te*) and what by the Notion so much in *Vogue* and so likely to be more, that 'tis as improper to call some of the Tenets of Popery by the Name of Religion, as 'twould be professedly to mis-call any thing obvious, as for example, to call Musick the Art of Rhetoric, or Grammar Logic, or to call Astronomy or Dyalling, by Surveying or Gawging, and that 'tis only that that is *Religion* indeed, that is to be honoured (according to that expression in the Scripture, *honour Widows that are Widows indeed*) and what by the urging Fate of Christendom now so loudly as with the voice of Thunder repeating it to us, that *this Nation must either now be quiet, or that the World abroad can never be so*, and that the hand of this Realm must be steady, if ever it will keep the Ballance of Christendom so, and what by the Nations having outlived all the Malignant Symptomes of the Plague of its Fears, I think on the whole matter, we may without any thing of the *Fire of Prophecy*, and only from the *Light of Reason* preface that the excessive fear of Popery as well as its danger will here be exterminated.

I doubt not but the former as well as later experiences of the Papists here concerning the Inconveniences of their Artifice of making or increasing Divisions in the Kingdom (the dividing of which by them as well as other Religion-Traders hath prejudiced it more than the so much talk'd of *Division* of the *Fleet*) will in the present Conjunction of Affairs incline the sober Party of them to joyn with the Body of the People of *England*, in being sharp Abhorrrers of the Principles of the *Jesuites*: for they can hardly go any where now in the Land without seeing a *Cain's Mark* set on those who cause divisions, or still drive the old Trade that the *Bohemian Nobleman Andreas ab Haberingfeld* in his Detection of the Popish Practices mentions, that *Sir Toby Mathews, Maxwell* and *Read* those Jesuited Political Interlopers did in the Reign of the Royal Martyr, namely, to mis-represent the Court and the Puritans to one another, and to endeavour to perswade male-contented People, that that Pious Prince designed their Slavery, a thing so false that he was *Reverend* their Martyr, as he with great Justice said of himself on the Scaffold, and which great name he might challenge even on the account of Natural Justice, if there had been nothing relating to reveal'd

Religion in the case to entitle him to it: for *St. John the Baptist* was a Martyr, and yet died for no Article of the Christian Faith.

It may be justly said that our Monarch fell a *Martyr* for the People, by not violating the *lex terræ*, that he was by his Oath bound to maintain, and by his therefore not owning the Jurisdiction of the Vile Court over him; and moreover the Law of Nature obliging him indispensably to do nothing that by his exemplary abdicating any Right Inherent in the Crown would have incapacitated him and his Successors from protecting their Liege-People in their Inheritance of the Laws, and it being a thing certain that the Law of Nature is as much the Law of God, as is the Law positive or his written Word (and indeed as *Gataker* saith well in his Book of *Lets*, *The Law of Nature written in Mans heart, is the very same so far forth as 'tis yet undefaced with the Law of God, revealed in the Word*) it may be with reason averr'd, that any Member of Mankind whether Prince or Subject who is put to death by any Court of Justice, or Armed Force, or by the hands of *Russians* or *Braves*, on the account of his discharging his Obligations to the Law of Nature, may enter his just Claim to the Name of Martyrdom. I have therefore supposing that *Godfrey* lost his life by vile hands for discharging with Courage the Duty to his Prince, that the Law of Nature and of the Land required from him, have given the Name of Martyrdom to his Fate, and I should ascribe the same Name to any one that should suffer the same Fate by the hands of any *Russians* that called themselves *Protestants*, for his asserting the Religion by Law Established, and discountenancing the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and the Principles that subvert the Right of the Inheritable *English* Monarchy, and doing what he was by the Law of Nature and the Land obliged to, for the asserting the one and discountenancing the other. Thus therefore do I judge that Name due to the Dire Fate that the late *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews* sustained from the hands of those execrable *Presbyterian Braves*, who defiled their Land and the light of the Sun there with the open Murder of that Prelate.

And supposing that the great *Harry* the 4th of *France*, who was so abandoned by Heaven to little Fears on Earth, as when the *Duke of Sully* was perswading him not to recall the *Jesuites*, to answer him thus, *Give me then security for my Life*, did yet receive the doom of the *Fearful* in this World for his continuing his Protection to his *Protestant* Subjects according to the Laws of Nature, and of his Realm; I shall not deny the right that the Nature of his Fate hath to be Crown'd with the Name of Martyrdom. 'Tis very possible that some wretched *Protestants* so call'd, may to the scandal of the Name of Religion design Out-rages and Sedition, and the late Publications of many Seditious *Pamphlets* by them, and the Re-printing of some of the most *Rebellious* ones that faced the Light in the times of the Usurpation, (and for example of the *Political Catechism*, and of the *Rights of the Kingdom*, in which latter the Murder of the King is justified, and the Right of the *English* Monarchy struck through the 5th Ribb, by the Authors making it Elective) hath given the Government a just Alarm of the designs of the Publishers of such *Pamphlets* and of their Abettors, and they serve among Men of Caution as a suspicious sign of some mischief intended by them, as the extraordinary Commotion of the Waters is to *Whale-fishers*, an indication of a *Whale* approaching, and from such as well as from some of the *Emissary Slaves* of the *Jesuites* here, what can any who act with the highest zeal in their several Capacities to assert the Rights of the Crown and Church expect but according to the *Stile* of *Cicero* against *Cataline*, *Nisi ut notent & designent oculis ad eadem unumquemque nostrum*. But as to any who for the just discharge of their Natural Obligation and Duty,

as Magistrates or private persons shall suffer the worst of Fates, I shall not deny the name of *Martyrs*, so neither shall I think him worthy the name of an *English* man, or a Regarder of the Divine Natural Law, who doth not if a Magistrate by the due Execution of the Laws, or if a private person and of Signal parts and Learning by his discourse and writing, notifie the absurdities and inconveniences of any Seditious Principles chargeable, on any perswasion of Religion whatsoever, every Subject being under Moral Obligations duly to represent to the *Pater Patria*, and to his Brethren Subjects the dangers imminent over them by any destructive Principles or Practices, whatever disguise of Religion the same may assume; and it is most worthy of the most generous dispositions that can be in men who own the love of their Country, with Monuments of Praise to honour the Memories of those *Heroic* Persons who were so unnaturally dealt with for asserting the Rights of the God of Nature, and thus sell its Noble Victims, and who in the Race of their Lives were Agonists for it, and to resemble the Justice of the *Lacedemonians* among whom those that died for their Country were proverbially said, καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι and were Crown'd with *Olive* and other Branches, and with Praises Extoll'd to the Skies: and to this Custom probably the words of the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles* have a reference, where he saith to *Timothy*, ἀγωνίζου τὸ καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, fight the good Fight of Faith; and *St. Paul* suitably was but just to himself, when writing to *Timothy*, I am ready to be offered up, &c. he added, I have fought a good fight, &c. And thus too may our Royal *Martyr* be said, καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, and considering how great an *Agonist* and *Confessor* *Queen Elizabeth* was, and how often she was designed for Martyrdom by some of her *Romish* Antagonists, the *Londoners* were but just to her, when adorning their Churches with the figure of her Monument they placed over her *Effigies*, the Inscription of, I have fought a good Fight, &c.

And as the old Agonistical Games were among the *Græcians* and *Romans*, instituted in honour of their Gods, and as critical seasons for their shewing their love to their Country by their then making Leagues and agreeing on the great Concerns of Peace and War, and Men, then in various Contentions of the Body and Mind shewed their utmost Abilities, so doth the Divine Natural and Positive Law oblige all Christians in any Conjunction or Season of Colluctation between true and false Religionary Principles, to shew their Athletic Habits of mind in the most consummate manner, and earnestly to contend for the Faith: and indeed the Christian Religion in the Rule of its Practice, having throughout the New Testament made *Agonisme* Essential to its Morals (which one word of *Agonisme* is Comprehensive of more vigour than all the Heathen Precepts of Morality include, or perhaps all the written Practices of Piety and Devotional Books) let him by my consent be devested of the Name of Christian, who on any just occasion shews not himself as an *Athleta* for his Religion and Country in all lawful ways by entering the Lists with all Principles of Hostility to either, whatever the Event may be; but still with a fair respect to the persons of all Contenders; for even that the *Agonistic* Games required, and particularly, *Ne quis in Colluctatione vel pugilatu antagonistam studio deditaq; operâ conficeret: alioqui ne victor Coronaretur*: nay so averse were the Athletick Laws to cruelty, that they obliged all Contenders to endeavour, *Quo mollior leviorq; ictus minus læderet*, and especially to abhor the Brutish Art of biting one another, the abhorrence of which I do expect will grow more and more in fashion between Religionary Antagonists, notwithstanding the many exorbitant incivilities I find practiced by some such Contenders towards the persons of each other in the present Conjunction,

Sure,

flure, wherein I have observed that too many of the Protestant as well as Popish *Antagonists* have by *cruel mockings* and *biting* words and *Shams*, made it their chief business but in one thing to resemble one of the old Agonistic Games, namely, that of the *Wrestlers* who after their having been first annointed with Oyl to strengthen themselves, did then that they might the better lay hold on one another, and might not slip out of each others hands, *Se mutuo pulvere five arenâ aspergere, ac propemodum fœdare*, a thing too many among us have done outright, and thereby shewed themselves not to be so much as *almost Christians*, and a *ridiculing* humour of throwing dirt that the *Colluctations* about the Land on the *Continent* of Christendom, will I believe *ridicule* out of our World at least, and unteach us the turpitude of such *Railery*, and make the Doctrines of speculative points of Religion to give us no more disturbance than doth or ever did the Doctrine of *Lines* and *Figures*.

And as the more ingenuous and true sober part of the people, is now moved with pity to *Nonconformists*, for being led away by the Nose from our Churches by the *Jesuites* (a thing that Mr. Nye himself affirms in his Book called, *A Case of great and present use, whether we may lawfully hear the now Conforming Ministers*, and printed Anno 1677, and the not thinking which lawful he makes a misperwasion, and saith in p. 24, and 25, *In most of the misperwasions of these latter times by which mens minds have been corrupted, I find in whatsoever otherwise they differ one from another, yet in this they agree that it is unlawful to hear in publick, which I am perswaded is one constant design of Satan in the variety of ways of Religion, he hath set on foot by Jesuites among us*) and doth the more pity them for that some well meaning persons among them who were blindfolded into some of their Nonconformity by *Jesuitic* Emissaries, had not heretofore their Eyes opened to see that the same persons were often Solicitors with Magistrates, to do their duty and put the Laws in due Execution against them for their Nonconformity, and that such Emissaries had thereby an occasion of saying to them according to the Style of the *Chief Priests*, after they had blind-folded our Saviour, and then smote him, *Prophecy who is he that smote thee?* and for that such well meaning persons have been observed at the same time to importune the Almighty, *That he would open the Eyes of Kings and Princes*, so hath it likewise general resentments of Scorn and Anger against the Principles of those *bantring* Popish Seducers, who as they have some Emissaries here to kill Souls and others probably ready on occasion, to kill bodies, have distended the Doctrine of Popery abroad in the World to such an excess of Cruelty that no man can Calculate the number of Gods it hath made, or of men it hath destroyed; and I hope that such *Jesuited* Emissaries will in time generally appear not only hateful but ridiculous to our Papists themselves: for who indeed can choose but laugh at the discussing or deliberating of the *Question* in p. 98. *Of the Mystery of Jesuitisme, viz. Whether the Jesuites may kill the Jansenists?* So very hateful are their Principles to some of our ingenuous *English* Papists, that I have heard a Great and Noble Person mention it with Contentment, that some of that Order of *False Prophets* were since the Popish Plot executed for it, tho yet he doubted of the Veracity of the Witnesses against them. I very much differ'd in my Judgment from that of that Noble Person, and would have no man damned in the least for the greatest Crime, but by Witnesses greater than all exception, and do account it easier to give Heaven an account of Mercy than Justice: but yet on the recollecting of my thoughts I have found it so incident to humane nature to delight by ill Witnesses to punish the avowers of false Religious Principles, that I have read it among some

some *Rabbinical* Observators of the Customs of the *Jews*, that they anciently allowed of false Witnesses against false Prophets, and of whose being such the *Sanhedrim* did cognosce, and so they impiously reputing *Christ* to be such, did barefaced bring forth false Witnesses against him, and he could not be allow'd to except against their Persons but only against their sayings as discordant: and to this purpose we find it in the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, *Ch. 26. Vers. 59, 60.* Now the Chief Priests and Elders and all the Council sought false Witnesses against *Jesus* to put him to death, but found none: yea tho many false Witnesses came, yet found they none. At the last came two false Witnesses, and in *St. Mark*, *Ch. 14. V. 56. and 59.* 'tis declared how the Testimony of the False Witnesses agreed not together. I have mentioned this as not in the least intending to reflect on the testimony of any one Witness ever produced in behalf of the Crown in any Criminal Cause in any age of time, and do think that according to the saying that *defensio non est deneganda Diabolo*, and that as a raising Accusation is not to be brought against the Devil, so much less ought a false Testimony. And I am moreover in any Point relating to the safety of Princes Lives, and when there are exasperated Parties in a Kingdom, criminating and recriminating each other about the same, inclined to do what is fairly to be done to support the Credit of Witnesses, considering (as the Observation is) that as he who is bound to the King, his Bond is good for nothing to any one else, so he that during such a Conjunction is a Witness for the King is liable to so many Volleys of Dirt from some one of the enraged Parties, and to have all the particular excesses and extravagances of his Life so display'd, as to endanger his Testimonies usefulness in other cases. But yet if any Magistrate finds the Testimony of Witnesses he would support to be insupportable, and doth not believe them to be *fide digni*, he is obliged Morally to avow such his Sentiment thereof, when he is legally put upon it.

And here I cannot pretermitt an occasion of mentioning your Lordships great Courage and Justice in an Affair that my Correspondent writ to me of, namely, that when some Witnesses had in the House of Lords been Examined about a Popish Plot in *Ireland*, and that the Vote of every one in that House was given for the reallity of that Plot except your Lordships, you entered your dissent as not believing any such Plot in *Ireland* as was by the Witnesses sworn, which was certainly most worthy of your Lordship to do, if you thought not the Witnesses worthy of your belief, and your Caution in your so judging, that the Papists in *Ireland* designed not such a Plot to be Executed in that Kingdom, was the more remarkable in regard that 'twas some time since published in a large Pamphlet of *the Growth of Popery*, that the *Irish* Plot was a thing contrived only to divert and hound us away from the pursuit and Examination of the *English* one. And yet the same Witnesses (as I was inform'd) obtain'd that belief from a Loyal and Honourable House of Commons concerning the *Irish* Plot, that caused the Vote of its reallity to pass with a *Nemine Contradicente* there.

What Factors of false Testimony the Jesuites principles are, I have shewn, and at the same time afforded my Testimony to the Heroic Vertue of many others of the Church of *Rome*, and think it great and pedantical kind of Injustice to charge all Lay-Papists with a readiness to obey their Priests Commands by being ministerial in Cruelty to Protestants. I remember I have read it in a printed Speech of Sir Audly Mervin the Speaker of the House of Commons in *Ireland*, a Speech glowing with anger enough against the *Papists*, where yet 'tis said p. 24. *In the Barony of Enishoan there are above two thousand Irish Papists can bring hundreds of Protestants to witness their Civil demeanor through the whole course of the distemper in this Kingdom.*

And as the bloody Sect of the Zealots grew at last so odious among the Jews, and another Order of such *sicarii* among the Turks, so I suppose that of the Jesuites will naturally do among Christians, and the Jesuites writ *de hæretico Assassinando*, grow obsolete, and especially in places where the Scene of Mr. Coleman's *Northern Heresie* lies, it being an old observation that *Northern Countries* are more hospitable and less cruel, than *Southern*.

In the very time of the dawn of Learning ushering in that of the Reformation, it presently grew odious to the first-rate *Ingeniosi* to draw Heretics blood. Our Famous Countryman *Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham* (who had imbibed so much of the Mathematical Sciences, that *Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis* saith p. 40. *Ante annos Centum & quod excurrit, magnâ cum laude præcipue ob sermonem purum, & perspicuum de arte supputandi egit Cutbertus Tunstallus*, and whose Book of *Arithmetick* writ with such pure Latinity is commonly extant) was of such a temper that (as *Fuller* tells us in his *Church History*) the *Bishopric* of *Durham* had halcyon days of Peace and Quiet under God and good *Cutbert Tunstal* the Bishop thereof.

Sir *Thomas Moor* of whom 'tis said, that 'twas writ on his Tomb, that he was *furibus hæreticisq; molestus*, yet in his *Utopia* rousls neither of them in Blood: and in his Chapter there concerning the Religions in *Utopia*, he makes divers kinds of Religion not only in sundry parts of the Island, but also in divers places of every City, some worshipping the Sun and some the Moon, and some other of the Planets, and the wisest of them worshipping God Almighty, and some embracing the Faith of Christ at first without the help of a Priesthood, and minding to choose a Bishop among themselves, without sending out of their own Country for the Order of Priesthood, and makes them affrighting none to or from the Christian Religion. And that that Book of his may rather be thought an Original of his Mind than a mere Copy of his Countenance, we have the Suffrage of Dr. *Donne* in his *Bia-Savat*, where having said, That Sir *Thomas Moor* was a man of the most tender and delicate Conscience that the World hath seen since *St. Austin*, and citing of his *Utopia*. l. 2. c. *de servis*, he saith, He was not likely to write there any thing in jest mischievously interpretable.

And if a man would quote things of *Erasmus* his great Humanity to all humane kind, he must quote almost his whole Works. But how far his Genius led him from any brutal ferity toward Heretics, your Lordship will see by this passage in his *Supput. error. Bedæ*. *Dic ecclesiæ, quod si non audierit sit tibi velut ethnicus & publicanus: quasi hic ulla sit incendii mentio. Rursus Apostolum. Post unam & alteram correptionem devita. An devitare est in ignem conicere? Iterum Auferte malum ex vobis ipsis. Num auferte valet idem quod occidere? He had said before, Quas autem mihi narrat ecclesiæ leges? An leges ecclesiæ sunt quenquam ultoricibus tradere flammis. And afterward at episcoporum est quod quidem in ipsis est docere corrigere, mederi. Qualis autem est & episcopus qui nihil aliud possit, quam vincere, torquere flammis tradere? Quod si qui tractant hoc negotium tales essent, qualem se declarat in hoc libello Bedæ, hoc est si tantum spirarent odii sit tantum haberent impudentiæ, tam impotens calumniandi studium, tam corruptum iudicium, ut videatur citius decem propulsurus in hæresim, quam unum revocaturus. nonne belle ageretur cum delatis? Nisi fallor primum designare cui male vellet, eum curaret clam rapiendum in carcerem: ibi quærentur articuli tales quales plurimos objicit mihi partim falsos, partim depravatos. Disputatio si qua fieret, perageretur in carcere, si quid hisceret contra mox accersitis tribus dilectis monachis, pronunciaretur sententia diffinitiva. Quod reliquum est perageret carnifex. Ubi theologus desert rapit in carcerem, urget accusatio*

accusationem, damnatum tradit judici profano. Iudex non ex sua cognitione, sed ex theologi præjudicio tradit flammis.

Our Martyrologist Mr. Fox could not have expressed more anger against a Bishop Bonner, than Erasmus a Papist hath here against Popish Persecuting Prelates. Had Erasmus then known of one practice enjoyn'd constantly by the Canons to Popish Bishops at their Condemning of Heretics, to *salve* the *Phænomena* of their irregularity by intermeddling in *Causa sanguinis* (and about which your Lordship shewed me once some remarkable quotations in a Letter writ to you by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and of which quotations I beg a Copy from you by the first opportunity) namely, *efficaciter & ex corde*, to intercede with the secular Judge to whom they deliver the Heretic over, *to bring no pain of death or mutilation of member to him*, I believe the great Wit of Erasmus would after his ingenious account aforesaid of the Tragedy of the Condemned Heretic, pleasantly entertained himself and Posterity with the wanton cruelty of that Farce that ensued it, and let us see how the Popish Bishop then using the Speech familiar to some Tooth-drawers just before their operation, *I will do you no harm and put you to little or no pain*, did at the same time make use of the power of the secular Magistrate, but as the Linnen Clout or Silk to wrap and hide the tormenting Pincers of Holy-Church in.

But to return to my observation of all Popish Canonists themselves, not allowing that wanton mode of the cruel usage and interceding with the Magistrate, *Efficaciter & ex corde*, to do the Condemned Heretic no harm, I think the same quotations mention how the famous *Panormitan* did brand the Hypocrisie of that Practice: and the truth is, 'tis very abominable that Heretics neither living nor dying, can be free from suffering *Shammes* by some Papists.

But again on the other hand 'tis with Justice to be said, that some Papists whose names the Age riseth up to, for their great advancement of real Learning, I mean *Peiresk*, *Descartes*, *Gassendus*, *Mersennus*, had as much tenderness for any differing in judgment from them as Protestants can have: and that mighty hunter after knowledge *Peiresk* was so far from eagerness in pursuing the blood of Heretics, that being one of the Judges for Capital Causes in France, he would always come off the Bench when Sentence of death was to be given, though against the most outrageous Murderer, and he always carried in his mind a charity large enough to embrace the whole World, and maintain'd a constant Correspondence with *Salmasius*, *Causabon* and other Protestants, and did put *Grotius* on the writing his *De jure belli & pacis*, that hath taught more Civility to Nations than the Modern Papal Christianity hath done, and who hath there so perfectly manumitted Secular Magistrates from being obliged implicitly to execute the Sentences of Ecclesiastic Judges, that he hath there asserted it *l. 2. c. 26. §. 4. Quin probabile est etiam Carnifici qui damnatum occisurus est hoc tenus aut questioni & actis inter fuerit aut ex rei confessione cognita esse debere causæ merita ut satis ei constet mortem ab eo commeritam: idque nonnullis in locis observatur, nec aliud spectat lex Hebræa cum ad lapidandum eum qui damnatus est testes vult prodire populo. Deut. 17.*

By the 7th Verse of that Chapter the hands of the Witnesses were to be first on him to put him to death, which Law no doubt had the effect of a *Caveat* with men against their *ambitus* of the standing Office of Witnesses by tacking thereunto the standing Office of Executioners.

Moreover both common Observation and Curfory looking into Books, and indeed common sense will teach us that the Papal Principles do not oblige

lige men at once to fence against Heretics lives, and against impossibilities, nor to endanger themselves by fighting with the *Wind-mills* in Heretics Brains.

That great *Cardinal D' Ossat* whom I have so often here cited, and who was so renown'd for his probity as well as comprehensive knowledg of matters of State, doth in the 86th *Letter* that is to *Villeroy* in the Year 1597. give him an account of his discourse with the *Pope* on the occasion of his Holyness angrily resenting *Harry* the 4th observing the *Edict* of pacification, and that *D' Ossat* thereupon said, *That it was necessary for the Peace of France that that Edict should be observ'd: that for want of such an Edict France had not been quiet for 35 years. That the Date of the Edict, 1577. shewed 'twas not the present King, but the late King 12 years before his death that made it, that the late King and King Charles his Predecessor and Brother, did not make such Edicts of Pacification with their good liking and frankly, but were constrain'd to it by necessity, even for the good of the Catholic Religion, and the Realm after having found that many Wars made by Heretics served for nothing but in many places to abolish the Catholick Religion, and in a manner all Ecclesiastical Discipline, Justice and order, &c. And that besides that necessity hath no Law in whatever Subject and Matter it be, Jesus Christ hath taught us in his Gospel to tolerate the Chaff in our Fields, when there was danger of plucking up with it and spoiling the good Corn: that other Catholick Princes used so to do, whom none spoke ill of for it. That the Duke of Savoy as great a Zealot as he makes himself for the Catholic Religion doth tolerate Heretics in their Religion, in the three Valleys of Italy, of which he is Lord. That the King of Poland did as much not only in the Kingdom of Sweden but of Poland: that all the Princes of the House of Austria, and who are Celebrated for being Pillars of the Catholic Church, did as much not only in the Towns of the Empire, but also in their own proper Estates, as in Austria it self from whence they take their Name, in Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia. That Charles the 5th Father of the King of Spain was he that taught the King of France and other Princes to yield to such a necessity by making the Interim (that every one knows) even after his having Conquered the Protestants of Germany. That his Son the King of Spain at this day who is reputed to be Archi-Catholic, and to uphold the Catholic Religion as Atlas doth the Heavens, doth yet tolerate in his Kingdoms of Valencia and Granada the Moors with their Mahumetanisme, and hath caused to be offered to the Heretics of Zealand and Holland, and other Heretics in the Low-Countries, the free exercise of their pretended Religion, if they will for the future acknowledge and obey him, &c. And concludes his discourse to the Pope saying, That the Kings ablest Counsellors were of opinion that if his Holyness saw things so near as the King did, and that the Pope was to Command France in the State the Realm was at present, his Holyness would not in this point do less than the King did. To all which *D' Ossat* saith, The Pope made no reply.*

And I think it may with parity of reason be affirmed, that if the *Pope* himself were to Command *England* in the State it is in at present, he would be no hammer of Heretics so as to knock any one of them on the head.

I know that after the date of that Letter, viz. Anno 1597. of *D' Ossat's* last mentioned, the various Revolutions in Christendom made the Scene of the toleration of Heterodoxy in those Countries to be altered with a Vengeance; for six years after the death of *D' Ossat*, viz. in the Year 1610. King *Phillip* the 3d of Spain made an *Edict* for the exterminating the *Moors* with

with their Mahumetatisme out of his Realms, and which was executed with great Cruelty; and the Union of *Utrecht* entered by the Provinces in 1579, and the blow given to the *Spanish* Monarchy by Queen *Elizabeth* in 1588, and the Patronage the United Provinces had from her and the kindness they found from *Harry* the 4th of *France*, made his Conditional offers of favour to the *Dutch* Heretics not thank-worthy, but even at this very day, tho in the Low-Countries both of the United and *Spanish* Provinces there is a certain reciprocal liberty for the Papists in the Dominions of the States, and for the Protestants in the Dominions of the *Spaniard*, yet is the liberty not equal: for in the United Provinces the States allow the Papists a certain number of Priests to officiate among them in *sacris*, which is done by an expresse Concession. But in the *Spanish* Dominions there is no such Concession, and the Ministers who there privately officiate among Protestants do it at their peril.

And in the Year 1599. *Ferdinand* of *Austria* expelled the *Lutherans* out out of his Provinces: and in *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and all the heritable Lands of the House of *Austria*, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, and the upper *Palatinate*, no Protestants are permitted to have the publick Exercise of their Religion: and the Effects of the Emperor's Persecuting the Protestants of *Hungary* the World knows and feels, and have with horror gazed on the Protestants of *Transylvania* putting themselves under the Protection of the *Turk*, that they might enjoy their Profession of Christianity. And how the *Bohemians* were treated by a Jesuited Emperor twenty years after 1579 I have spoken, when I gave an account of the Jesuites Emblem painted on the Arms of *Austria*, viz. *I have practiced*.

That the Duke of *Savoy* practiced nothing of Cruelty to his Heretical Subjects in the *Valleys* about the time 1597, those poor Protestants may under God thank their old friend *Harry* the 4th, who in the year 1600 took almost his whole Country, after his having been before in a Contest with him by way of demand for the *Marquisat* of *Salusses*, and his having applied to the Pope to interpose therein, the Emperor having likewise demanded that *Marquisat* in Right of the Empire; and while that Duke was in fear of being fleeced by the Pope and Emperor, and *Harry* the 4th, 'tis no wonder if he suffered his Heretical Subjects to graze or sleep in whole Skins in the Neighbouring *Valleys* of *Piemont*; but in the year 1655 there ran in those *Valleys* such a torrent of Protestant blood as did bear away all the dire Examples of Cruelty before it that History could shew, as appears out of *Sir Samuel Morelands History of the Churches in those Valleys*, and Book 4th, and Chap. 4. where in his Audience Speech as Envoy to the Duke of *Savoy* in the behalf of the Protestants in those *Valleys*, on that sad occasion, he saith, *Si reviviscant omnes omnium temporum & ætatum Nerones (quod sine ullâ celsitudinis vestræ offensione dictum velim, quemadmodum & nullâ ejus culpâ quicquam factum esse credimus) puderet prefecit eos: ut qui nihil non mite ac humanum (ad hæc facinora si spectas) excogitasse se reperirent, interim exhorrescunt Angeli, Mortales obtupescunt, Ipsum cælum morientium clamoribus attonitum esse videtur, ipsaq; terra diffuso tot hominum innocuorum cruore erubescere.*

And as for the Kingdom of *Poland*, the fear of the *Turkish* Power then gave the Prince there no leisure to attend squabbles about Heresy and Heretics: and as for the interest he had in *Sweden*, which too in the year 1599, had a Popish King (as *Sandys* saith in his *Europæ Speculum* that year writ) yet were the Papists there then (as he saith) few, and consequently the Heretics too many to be persecuted.

The very *Interim* spoke of by *D' Ossat*, or *Formula inter-Religionis* as 'twas called, was a double bottom of Popery and Protestancy, and nothing was expected to be its Fate but Divulsion. *Alsted* in his *Chronology* mentions its

Date with the words of *Infelix partus*, and the Protestants in Constance rather than they would embark in that double bottom, threw themselves overboard into the Sea of the Power of Ferdinand King of the Romans and Brother of Charles, who soon used them not as their Protector, but their Conqueror: and 'tis notorious that the *Interim* was professedly designed to continue only till the Council of Trents determinations were ended, and 'tis likewise as notorious that that Council was called designedly and *revera* for the exterminium of Heretics; and its being called *ad restituendos collapsos ecclesiae mores*, was but *umbrage* and *shamme*. And what Quarter Heretics were to expect from the Tridentine Spirit, Father Paul hath told us in his History, p. 693, and that as to the year 1563. Advice came to Rome that the King of France had made a Peace with the Hugonots, the particular Conditions being not known of yet: And the Pope thinking it proceeded from some Prelates, who tho they did not openly declare themselves to be Protestants, yet did follow that Party, he resolved to discover them, and was wont to say he was wronged more by the Masqued Heretics than by the bare-faced. Whereupon the last of March he gave order that the Cardinals who governed the Inquisition should proceed against them. The Cardinal of Pisa answering that there was need of proper and special Authority, the Pope ordain'd that a new Bull should be made which was dated the 7th of April, and contained in Substance that the Pope being Vicar of Christ, to whom he hath recommended the feeding of his Sheep, and to reduce those that wander, and to bridle with temporal Penalties those who cannot be gain'd by Admonitions, he hath not since the beginning of his Assumption omitted to execute this Charge, notwithstanding some Bishops are not only fallen into Heretical Errors but do also favour other Heretics opposing the faith. For Provision wherein he commands the general Inquisitors of Rome to whom he hath formerly commended this business to proceed against such, tho Bishops and Cardinals inhabiting in places where the Lutheran Sect is Potent, with Power to cite them to Rome by Edict, or to the Confines of the Church to appear personally, or if they will not appear, to proceed to Sentence, which he will pronounce in private Consistory. The Cardinals in Conformity to the Popes Commands cited by Edict to appear personally at Rome, to purge themselves from imputation of Heresie, and of being favourers of Heretics, the Cardinal of Chastillon, the Arch-Bishop of Aix, the Bishop of Chartres, and other Bishops in France.

His Holyness it seems thought that Cardinal and the Arch-Bishop and the Bishops to be Protestants in Masquerade, and has given an example to some *Furiosi* among Protestants thus to misal some of the better sort of them.

In fine that which I aim at by referring to these Historical Passages is this, to shew that some of the very Grandees of the Church of Rome hold Principles in Religion that allow indulgence to the persons of Heretics. I have instanced how D' Ossat in the Popes presence was a Confessor for moderation in this kind, and spake like a skillful Divine when he said, That Christ hath taught us in his Gospel to tolerate the Chaff in our Fields, when there was danger of plucking up with it, and spoyling the good Corn: and Theophylact on that place tells us, that by Tares are meant Heretics.

Nor can it be unknown to men of great thought among the Papists, that the sanguinary usage of Heretics, hath much encreased their number, nor perhaps will it be denied by the Critical Judges of things in the Papal World, what was by one of our *beaus esprits* and great States-men, I mean the Lord Viscount Falkland observed in Print, That the Massacre in France made more Protestants in one night than all Calvins Works have done since their first publication.

According

According to that Observation, *That nothing surfeits sooner than man's flesh*, 'tis but natural to suppose that the Papal World must be surfeited with it at last. And indeed the experience Popish Politicians have had of their success by *dividing* us formerly (as was said) would tempt them to omit other courses and to persist still in that if it were not now generally seen through.

'Tis in *viridi observantiâ* how our Famous great Usurper *Cromwel* who founded his Dominion in pretended Grace or Religion, and was afraid of Thunder from every Cloud of Enthusiasme he saw over his head, and was awed likewise by the Serene and Rational Religion of the Church of *England*, had no other Game to play in order to the dividing the several Religionary Parties but by in some manner tolerating all according to the Mode of *Julians* Politics.

The *Papists* were the first who miscalled any of our *English* Princes by the name of *Julian*, and that they did in the Case of King *James* as appears in his Learned *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* printed Anno 1609. where being much concerned for his being so termed (and that too by no meaner a man then *Bellarmino*) he doth with great strength there largely prove that that name was congruous (as his words are) *in no point save one, that is, that Julian was an Emperor and I a King*: and indeed 'tis a very impotent humour of Calumny in any Protestant to call any one an *Apostate* or especially the *Apostate*, merely for the alteration of his Judgment in some controvertible points of Faith between *Papists* and *Protestants*, and which are denominable by the name of Religion; and 'tis a great folly to cherish immoderate fears that any *English* Prince who possibly may happen in such Controvertible Points to change his persuasions in Religion, will if a *Papist* attempt *à la Julian* to plant Divisions among his Subjects by the Instrument of Religion, for that their being kept undivided and all of a piece will be essential to the life of the Kingdom as the State of Christendom is likely to continue; nor is it probable that any such Prince can ever think in the single course of his life to make this Nation all of a piece or united under the persuasion of Popery. For if any one would suppose it possible that in the Reigns of three or four Successive Princes of that persuasion, the nature of things might be so far forced as that Millions of men might by artifice be made to abandon a Rational Religion, and one that is framed to support the Government, for one that is not so, such one Prince must be supposed to have acquired the gift of long life that *Ante-diluvian* Patriarchs had, and to extend the Span of his life to that of three or four Princes. It is a known Rule relating to *Mathematics*, *That there is no reconciling time and force*, and he who would have one man do as much as four, must allow him to be as long a doing it as four one after another.

But the surviving *Experts* have seen too much of the effects of the shaking all Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity by a Protestant Usurper, ever to wish for another in any Case, and to have the ballance of Christendom again broken, and the Kingdom be again divided to preserve his Families interest and to keep that entire, which is notorious to have happen'd under the aforesaid Usurper both of Religion and the Kingdom: and the name of *Julian* is most properly applicable to him or any Protestant Usurper, and who will be necessitated to follow him in his Track of Politics: and the notion of which *Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 22.* set us right in, where he shews us that *Julian*, that he might weaken the Power of the Christian Religion which he feared, knew no way so easie as to endeavour to do it by it self, and therefore recall'd the Bishops banish'd by *Constantius*, and gave

gave them and the People leave to be Christians tho himself was a Heathen, *Nullas infestas hominibus bestias ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus*, i. e. because he had never found Beasts so cruel to one another as he had most Christians, and therefore as he travelled through *Palæstine*, cryed out, *O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatæ, tandem alios vobis inquietiores invēni.*

Thus did the Usurper promote the Animosities among Religionary Parties, and was enforced thereby to weaken the Kingdom to strengthen himself: some indulgence he shewed to Congregations where Divines of the Church of *England* worship God in the way of its Church, yet permitting none to have Benefices but such as were of the Presbyterian perswasion generally, and among such and the Independants he distributed his Donatives of preferment in the Universities, and he took care that no form of Church Discipline or particular Church might preponderate by his being a Member therein. He made some Lay-men and some Divines differing in Judgment about Presbytery and Independency to be *Tryers* of Ministers fitness for Livings, and Commissioned many ignorant Lay-men in the several Counties to be Judges of the sufficiency of Ministers, for their continuing in Livings. The press was open to all unlearned Wranglers about Religion. Many of his Military Preferments he placed on *Anabaptists*, and did suffer many of the *Fifth-Monarchy* Religionaries to disturb the *Apocolypse* and the World thereby, gave freedom to *Muggleton* the Impostor to set up for a Prophet, and one of the two *Witnesses*, and was a particular Patron to *Manasseh ben Israël*, and in treaty with him here to introduce the *Jews*, and tolerated *Biddels* Congregated Church of *Socinians*, further likewise so far giving an occasion to Mr. *Marvels* Writing a Book then of the *Growth of Popery*, that Mr. *Pryn* in his Book called, *A true and perfect Narrative of what was done, &c.* Printed in the Year 1659. saith in p. 57th, *That Sir Kenelm Digby was his particular Favourite, and lodged by him at White-hall, that Maurice Conry Provincial of the Franciscans in England, and other Priests had his Protections under Hand and Seal, and that he suspended Penal Laws and Executions against Popish Priests and Jesuites, who sometimes taken in their Pontificalibus at Mass, and were soon after released, and that he endeavoured to stop the Bill against Papiests the very Morning he was to pass it, by his White-hall-Instruments, who moved its suspension for a time, as not suting with the then present Forraign Correspondencies, against whom it was carried by 88 Votes, that it should be sent up with the rest then passed, and that he writ to Mazarine to excuse his passing that Bill as being carried on by a violent Presbyterian Party much against his Will, and that yet it should not hurt them tho passed, &c.*

And I suppose an Author more profound in his Observations than Mr. *Pryn*, doth in a Loyal Pamphlet Printed in the Year 1656. Called a *Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, &c.* (and generally conceived to be writ by the late Lord *Hollis*) there in p. 58. and the following ones charge *Cromwel* home for the swarming of the *Jesuites* then in *England*, and transforming themselves into several shapes among the divided Sects here, and saith, *What liberty the Priests and Jesuites take, how far they prevail on the People, what Countenance they receive from this Government is apparent enough by not proceeding against them in Justice, as if no Laws were in force for their punishment. Your private Negotiations with the Pope and your promises that as soon as you can. Establish your own greatness, you will protect the Catholics and the insinuations that you will countenance them much further, are sufficiently known and understood: and of their dependance upon and devotion to you, there needs no Evidence beyond the Book lately written by Mr. White a*
Romish

Romish Priest, and dedicated to your Favourite Sir Kenelm Digby, Entitled, the Grounds of Obedience and Government, in which he justifies all the Grounds and Maxims in your Declaration, and determines positively that you ought to be so far from performing any promise or observing any Oath that you have taken if you know that it is for the good of the People that you break it, albeit they foreseeing all that you now see, did therefore bind you by Oath not to do it, and that you offend both against your Oath and Fidelity to the People if you maintain those limitations you are sworn to, and sure what you do must be supported by such Casuists. And afterwards speaks how Cromwel in distrust of the whole English Nation was Treating to bring over a Body of Swiss to serve him as the Janisaries do the Turk.

The Declaration here referred to was Cromwells Declaration of October 31, Anno 1655, and which was supposed to have been worded by his Lord Keeper Fiennes, wherein all the measures of Justice toward the Cavaliers, and particularly the Public Faith of the Parliament, for the punctual and exact performance of Articles with them after the vast gain that had accrued to the Parliament by their Compositions, and an Act of Grace and Oblivion afterward granted to the Royal Party, are avowedly broken: and in p. 36. of that Declaration, 'tis said, *If the Supreme Magistrate were tyed up to the ordinary Rules and had not liberty to proceed upon the illustrations of reason, against those who are continually suspected, there would be wanting in such a State, the means of Common Safety, &c.* and before in p. 12, and 13. the Jesuites are out-done as to the keeping of no faith with Heretics, by the asserting in effect in general, that *nulla fides est servanda*, and the humour of Pope Paul the 4th is Repeated, who as the Author of the History of the Council of Trent tells us, declared it in the Consistory, *That 'twas Heresie to say the Pope can bind himself.*

And we are assured out of Mr. Peter Walsh his History and Vindication of the Irish Remonstrance, that Edmund Reilly the titular Popish Primate of Ireland, who at a public Dinner boasted that he never had been friend or well wisher to the King and his two Brothers and the Duke of Ormond, did yet write Precepts under his Seal to all the Province of Armagh to pray for the Health, Establishment, and Prosperity of Cromwell Protector and his Government.

More need not be said of the danger of Popery and Arbitrary Power to the Nation, if God and man had not hindered Lamberts Usurpation over it. I have mention'd how some of the Plot-Witnesses have deposed somewhat thereof: and some of his Countrymen have in discourse affirm'd his having been there a Favourer of Papists: and my self observing it to a worthy Gentleman of Yorkshire, that one of the Popish Lords in the Tower did in February 1662, pass a Grant from the Crown of several Mannors in Yorkshire forfeited by the Attainder of John Lambert, he averr'd it to me that Lamberts Son enjoys that Estate at this day. It had been just for the Almighty to have punished the extravagance of the Fears and Jealousies that Reigned in the time of the Royal Martyr about his not being a Protestant (a Character of Religion he had constantly own'd in the view of the World, both by his publick Devotions and Alliances, and particularly that with Holland which chiefly his Zeal for that Religion made him to ensure by the Marriage of his Daughter with the Prince of Orange, in the time that the War between the Crown of Spain and the States was depending) by permitting a private Gentleman whose name perhaps had not come to public knowledge but for the figure he made in illegal Arms, so far to march with his Religion undiscern'd through the Quarters of all the gathered Churches and the Classical ones too, that he deceived in that point so many

that called themselves *the very Elect*, and who were as well vers'd in the business of all Religions as *Jews* are in Coines and in the way of adulterating them, and who after that Religion had always been the *Staple* Commodity of *England* as much as Wooll, did almost nothing else but Weave and Dye and Tenter the same with all subtilty of Art possible to them: and as the *Israelites* marched out of *Egypt* without the farewel of a *Dogs* barking at them, we were then near the point of being driven back to *Egypt*, to Civil and Spiritual Slavery without the least alarm given us by any of our best and deep mouth'd *Dogs* against Popery. But the extreme danger to Protestancy from that intended Usurpation hath been long since over; nor do I expect that any fatality of that kind can ever happen to it from any Prince of the Right Line, how much a Papist soever he may be, that is to say, from one who was swathed with the Laws in his Cradle, and will be Circumscribed with them in his Crown.

According to that great severe truth I observed before of the fate of the *ten Tribes*, after they had made a defection from the Line of *David*, that they were punished with a Succession of 10 Kings, and not one good one in the whole Pack, and their falling at last as a Prey to Forraigners, it was the Lot of *England* justly to suffer what has been here described, from various Governments and Governors for its defection from the Royal Line, and the experience of our disastrous past Calamities must needs convince all men of serious thought and sense, that we can have no Usurper how true a Religion soever he may own, but will be false to the Interest of the Nation, and that particularly by dividing it, and thereby as much *depreciating* it in the view of all Christendom, as a great *Diamond* would be if cut in two: for tho *Diamonds* or *Pearles* be equal and like in their Figures, Waters, Colours, and Evenness, yet if they differ in their Weights and Magnitudes, those are the Roots of their Prices, and a *Diamond* of *Decuple* weight is of *Centuple* value.

I therefore think the Kings Loyal long *Parliament* did consult the public Security when in the great Act of the Test they enjoyn'd the taking the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and thereby the laying on the *takers* an Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Successors*, that was to outlast the Life of the *King*, and without any distinction of the Religion true or pretended of such *Heirs* and *Successors*.

Of the Obligation to the Kings *Heirs* and *Successors* arising from those Oaths, Mr. *Pryn* in his *Concordia Discors*, Printed in the Year 1659. hath writ usefully: but because since the time of the late *fermentation*, many Pamphlets have been writ *pro* and *con* of the *Political* part of the *Question* relating to a Popish Successor, and none that I have heard of has professedly writ of the *Casuistical* Part thereof, and particularly with relation to those Oaths, and because I have heard that in some discourse about the same in some good Company where the Obligation by those Oaths to the Kings *Heirs* in point of Conscience hath been asserted, some good men have been blundered out of their apprehending the same, by mistaking the saying in the *Civil-Law*, that *nemo est hæres viventis*, and likewise some things obvious in the *Common-Law*, and I did fear that it might thence grow a common and vulgar error that there is no such Obligation resulting from those Oaths, and that as a Supine neglect of the use of means to find the true sence of the same, would be very culpable, so that a serious and dispassionate representing the same would to all men that regard the weight of an Oath, be very acceptable, I have with as much recollection of thought as I could fairly and impartially writ my opinion thereof *Casuistically*, and shall very shortly send it your Lordship for your perusal.

And

And indeed as I should not think I dealt candidly with any person of the Popish persuasion if I should be severe to him, before I had a Moral Certainty of his having imbibed any of the Principles imputable to Popery, that may be called unmoral or inhumane, so it would especially seem to me somewhat like the *drawing on a naked man*, for a Protestant at this time to write for the divesting any Popish Prince of his legal Property, when few or no Writers of the Church of *Rome* either do, or dare, for fear of offending the Pope, draw their pens for the preservation of such his property, without respect to any Religionary Tenets he may hold.

What the *Pope* did to obstruct King *James's* Succession, I have mentioned, and what favour any Protestant Prince can hope for from the Holy See, may appear out of *D' Ossat's* Letter to *Villeroy* in the Year 1598. Book 4th, where having spoke of the Artifices used to the Pope to make him believe, that if *Harry* the 4th recovered the *Marquisate* of *Salusium*, it would be Commanded by *Hugonots*, he thereupon adviseth the King to declare the Contrary to the Pope and adds, *I would not interpose to write this to you, if I did not know that the Pope and all this Court hold that to maintain the Catholic Religion in a Country, and to preserve it from Heresie, his Holyness may and ought to deprive the true Lord and Possessor of it, and give it away to any other who hath no property therein, and who shall be more able and willing there to preserve the Catholic Faith.*

I met with some passages lately in a Pamphlet, that concerned the Succession, where the Author having liberally descanted on the words *Heirs* and *Successors*, in the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, saith, *as I will not take up Arms without the Kings Commission, nor enter into any Association to commence in his life time against his Consent, &c. so any one by whom or for whom any resignation of his Majesties Power shall be extorted shall not reign over me:* and there was another very coarse expression there applied to a very fine Person, and one so every way truly great that every Age doth not produce, viz. *That the House of Commons condescended little thanks to George Earl of Halifax, &c.* but according to the licence of Speech used by that Author, I shall venture to declare that where ever I have a Suffrage in the Choice of a Parliament-man, if any Candidate shall tell me that he served in the place before and was for an *Exclusion Bill*, rather than the Kings Offers, and without advising with his Country would have any one of the Royal Line Secluded from his Title to the Throne, on the account of any Religionary Tenet (for our *English* Antiquities afford Footsteps of Parliament-men on some weighty matters, consulting their Towns or Counties that chose them) such a one if I can help it, shall never represent me: and moreover he who doth not with acknowledgments of Honour and Gratitude to the Earl of *Halifax*, mention that *Bill* that he brought into the House of Lords, in order to the extermination of Popery, that I spake of before, and wish it lodged in our Statute Book, that man if I can help it shall never represent me.

I am not so rash in my efforts against Future time as perhaps that Author was, and can cite a great Name for the reasonableness of Representatives advising with those they represent in matters of great moment to the State, and to this purpose the Lord Viscount *Faliland* Secretary of State, in a Printed Draught of a Speech concerning *Episcopacy*, &c. saith p. 4. *Mr. Speaker, Tho we are trusted by those that sent us in Cases wherein their opinions were unknown, yet truly if I knew the opinion of the Major part of my Town, I doubt whether 'twere the intention of those that trusted me that I should follow my own opinion against theirs,* and thereupon his Lordship advised

vised the House of Commons not to do any thing against *Episcopacy*, and at least to stay till the next *Session*, and consult more particularly with their Electors about it. And if according to the example of that great man any of our Contenders against *Popery* had thought fit to consult with those they represented, about the meeting those Royal and Frank offers with hearty embraces, they would perhaps have found the generality of those they represented, zealous for their so doing : and if they that perhaps with a well intended Gallantry of Courage and scorn of Popery, threw out the *Bills* that came from the *Lords* in the *Tear* 1677, should ask those they represented if they do not now wish those *Bills* had then passed into Laws, I believe they would say, they did : and if they were asked whether that Bill I mentioned before that was brought in by the Earl of *Hallifax* had not likewise passed into a Law, I believe they would wish it had.

I presume not to inveigh against any of our late Loyal *Parliaments* whatever slips in Politics were by any there made, or Arbitrary Votes there passed against particular Persons, and am as impatient when I hear any inveigh against our Representatives who in the contention of Popery exerted all the strength of the faculties of their minds what ever errors they fell into, as I should be if I heard any Principal speak unkindly of his Second, who contending for him in *loco lubrico*, or fencing on the Ice did slip, and shall be as apt as any to wish and hope that now such have consulted with their Country as the *Agonothetæ*, and know their opinions better then formerly, that they will take other measures ; and especially when they see the present State of Christendom importuning us to be quiet more then formerly, and thus in the old *Agonistic Games* many of the *lappi athletæ* came to be Crown'd. The Rule in those Games was that the Agonists were to make three Attacks on each other, and he that did slip or go back in the first and second, if yet he overcame in the third On-set was lawfully Crown'd, and good luck (say I) have they with their honour, who having an opportunity of a third Assault against Popery, shall out-do not only others but themselves : and I have the Charity to believe that what the great *Athletæ* did in the Exclusion Bill was thought lawful by them, and that they thought therein they did not *transilire metas*.

And 'tis but with Justice that the generality of the People of *England* seem as *Agonothetæ* to have judged of the temper of our Prince in this Religious *Certamen* : and I believe whatever time can cause, that yet among all composed and sedate Minds, his Majesties deportment in the late Conjunction will never happen to be forgot, and particularly his wrestling with his Parliaments (as I may say) by several Gracious Offers and Messages relating to the security of the Protestant Religion, and to the making of *English Men* everlasting *Comprehensors* of the same. He notified it to them by the Lord Chancellor on March the 11th 78. That this is the time to secure Religion at home and strengthen it from abroad, by strengthening the Interests of all the Protestants in Europe, &c. The results of this Council seem to be decisive of the fate of this Kingdom, &c.

And I must confess I wish that *tempus acceptabile* (as I call'd it before) had been accepted of, that great Critical Moment of time when the curious needed no intelligence from that Oracular States-man of the measures taken abroad to extirpate Protestantism, and when its Enemies in some Countries thought they had the life of that Religion as sure within their gripe as he had that of the Bird, when out-braving the Oracle, he ask'd if the Bird in the hand were dead or alive, and when all his Majesties real acceptable offers were thus reiterated to all the noble Contenders, and offered like the

water

water of life to prevent their fainting in their Race, and that without Money and without Price.

And because his Majesties Title hath appear'd as due to his *Agonists* Crown as to his Inheritable Royal one, for having in the several *periods* of his life at home and abroad contended so earnestly for the Protestant Faith, and purchased an immunity from Envy it self (and that according to the right of that *Law* in the *Code*, that restrains the obtaining of *Immunities* only to such a one who hath striven *per omnem ætatem cum cœvis*, and hath to the *Athlotletæ* given proof of his valour from his youth, and who hath at least in *tribus agonibus* been Conqueror) I think the rather that a Crown of Justice is laid up for him both in time and in eternity for his preserving the property of his *Line*, in some of those his earnest *Messages* aforesaid, and for that he did not by the infringing the Legal Rights of that (as I may say) *transflire lineas*, or by doing any thing of the Justice whereof he doubted and much more of the Injustice whereof he was fully convinced.

As the figure of a Crown must be entire; so must every good Action consist of entire Causes that is to be rewarded with it: and any Prince who doth deliberate of the doing a thing in it self unjust has need of the Caution given to the Angel of the Church in *Philadelphia*, hold fast that which thou hast, that no Man take away thy Crown: and indeed for a Monarch to do an Act of Injustice is a greater misfortune to him than to be deposed, the latter being but the evil of punishment, and the former of sin. I reading lately in *Klockius de ærario* was ashamed to see the 41 *Summari-um* of Chap. 109th, Book 2d, to be this, viz. *A Justitiâ licite in parvis subinde variari ut in majoribus inviolata sit*: and ashamed to find in that Chapter *Tacitus* quoted by him for it, and saying, *Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum*, and *Plutarch* cited for saying, *A justitia in parvis rebus nonnunquam abeat, si salvam eam voles in magnis*. But honest *Cicero* tells us better things, and that, *Nihil honestum esse potest quod justitiâ vacat*; and the Christian Morallity I am sure prohibits the doing of one unlawful Act, tho the effect of it would be the restoring the whole Creation in *integrum* to its first State in *Paradise*, and it enjoyns the fortitude of not fearing those that kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul, as our Saviours words are in *St. Math.* 10. 28. and where he doth not say, fear not those that can kill the Body, but who do actually and frequently kill the Body: but are not able to kill the Soul, implying that unjust men often labour to do that, and would do it if they could, and their cursed sollicitude therein is not capable of being practised more then by endeavouring to prevail on Men by fear of imminent bodily danger to warp from principles of Justice, and the Scripture doth annex the Crown of Life to the condition of being faithful unto death, and to not fearing the things to be suffered, as 'tis said in *Rev.* 2. 10. the ominous Text Preached on at the Coronation of the Royal Martyr.

And as it is a saying that *Must is for the King*, so be that Rules over Men must be just, ruling in the fear of God, as part of the last words of King *David* assures us, and must not by fear of Man do any unjust thing that would imply his intermitting the filial fear of Heaven, which is justly punished by being abandon'd to the Servile Fear of Man, and to that fear bringing a Snare (as that Kings Son hath in his *Proverbs* told us) and when otherwise he might have made his own wrath as the roaring of a Lion as *Solomons words* are.

And 'tis when exact Justice is as it should be fixed in the Firmament of a Princes Mind, that its brightness is above being Ecclipsed by any popular

temptations or fears, that it resembles the fixt Stars whose great height dazles the eyes of gazers and which Stars cannot be eclipsed by the shadow of the whole earth.

The Populace and their Multitudes and Commotions are in the Scripture frequently compared to *water* and the *Sea*, and like that, they are apt to be eating towards the Roots of the Powers of Sovereigns; but while the Mountains of their Power are bottom'd on Natural Justice, all the preying of the Sea of the People there makes but the promontory more surely guarded, and appear more majestic as well as be more inaccessible. And of this Sea of the People as I would wish every Prince in the just observance of the Municipal Laws of his Country to espouse the Interest as much as the *Duke of Venice* doth his *Adriatic*, yet should I see one for fear of Popular Envy or Obloquy forbearing to administer *Justice*, and to follow the real last Dictates of his practical understanding rightly informed, and fervily giving up himself to obey any mens preterded ones, I should think it to be as extravagant a Madness as *Hydrophoby*, or fear of water, on the biting of a Mad Dog; and while a Sovereign observes the immutable Principles of Justice, he may acquiesce in the results of Providence, and expect that the *troubling of the waters* may be like that of the *Angel* before the time of healing, or a Conjunction of the Peoples being possessed of healing Principles: and in fine, a King when he finds the Waters of Popular Discontent more tumultuous by Religionary Parties as *two Seas* meeting, as for example, Papists and Presbyterians, he may depend on his being near Land, that being always near where two Seas meet: and let every Prince be assured that 'tis not only *Papery* but *Atheisme* in *Masquerade* to do an unjust Act to support Religion.

I know that it hath been incident to some good men to strain pretences beyond the nature of things for justifie Causes of War abroad in the World to advance the Protestant Religion. And thus in the last Age, the Crown and Populace of *England* being clutter'd with the Affair of the *Palatinate*, the Prince *Palatine* had here many well-wishers to his Title for the *Bohemian Crown*: and *Rushworth* tells us in his 1st Vol. Ann. 1619. That he, being Elected King of *Bohemia* craved Advice of his Father in Law the King of Great Brittain, touching the acceptation of that Royal Dignity: and that when this Affair was debated in the Kings Council, Arch-Bishop Abbot whose infirmity would not suffer him to be present at the Consultation, wrote his mind to Sir R. Nauton the Kings Secretary, viz. That God had set up this Prince his Majesties Son in Law as a Mark of Honour throughout all Christendome to propagate the Gospel, and protect the Oppressed. That for his own part he dares not but give advice to follow where God leads, apprehending the work of God in this and that of *Hungary*: that by the Peace and Peace the Kings of the Earth that gave their power to the Beast shall leave the Whore, and make her desolate, that he was satisfied in Conscience that the *Bohemians* had just Cause to reject that Proud and Bloody Man who had taken a Course to make that Kingdom not Elective in taking it by Donation of another, &c. And concludes, Let all our Spirits be gathered up to animate this Business, that the World may take notice that we are awake when God calls.

Rushworth saith, that King *James* disavowed the Act of his accepting that Crown, and would never grace his Son in Law with the Style of his new Dignity.

And in King *Charles* the Firsts time, in the *Common-Prayer* relating to the Royal Family, the Prayer runs for *Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhine*, and the *Lady Elizabeth his Wife*; yet in the *Assemblies Directory* afterward

afterward as to the Prayer for the Royal Family, that Lady *Elizabeth* is Styled *Queen of Bohemia*.

But our Princes not being satisfied, it seems that the *Palatine* of the *Rhine* had a just Title to the *Bohemian* Crown, thought it not just for them to assert it.

However, that Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, the *Achilles* of the Protestants here in his Generation, thought that the *English* Crown ought to descend in its true *Line* of Succession whatever profession of Religion any Member thereof should own, appears out of Mr. *Pryn's Introduction to the History of the Arch-Bishop of Canterburies Tryal*, where having in p. 3. mentioned the *Articles* sent by King *James* to his Ambassador in *Spain* in order to the Match with the *Infanta*, and that one was, *That the Children of this Marriage shall no way be compelled or constrained in point of Conscience of Religion, wherefore there is no doubt that their Title shall be prejudiced in case it should please God that they should prove Catholics*, and in p. 6. Cited the same in *Latin* out of the *French Mercury*, Tom. 9. as offered from *England*, *Quod liberi ex hoc matrimonio oriundi non cogentur neq; compellentur in causa religionis vel conscientiae, neq; leges contra Catholicos attingent illos, & in casu si quis eorum fuerit Catholicus, non ob hoc perdet jus successionis in Regna & Dominia Magnae Britanniae*, and afterward in p. 7. mentioned it as an Additional Article offer'd from *England*, *That the King of Great Brittain and Prince of Wales should bind themselves by Oath for the observance of the Articles, and that the Privy Council should Sign the same under their hands, &c.* He in p. 43. mentions Arch-Bishop *Abbots* among other Privy-Counsellors accordingly Signing those *Articles*, and further in p. 46. mentions the Oath of the *Privy-Council* for the observance of those *Articles* as far as lay in them: and had before given an account not only of Arch-Bishop *Abbots*, but of other *magna nomina* of the Clergy and Layety in the Council that Signed the same, and particularly of *John Bishop of Lincoln Keeper of the Great Seal*, *Lionel Earl of Middlesex Lord High Treasurer of England*, *Henry Viscount Mandevile Lord President of the Council*, *Edward Earl of Worcester Lord Privy-Seal*, *Lewis Duke of Richmond and Lennox Lord High Steward of the Household*, *James Marquess of Hamilton*, *James Earl of Carlile*, *Lancelot Bishop of Winchester*, *Oliver Viscount Grandison*, *Arthur Baron Chichester of Belfast Lord Treasurer of Ireland*, *Sir Thomas Edmonds Kt. Treasurer of the Household*, *Sir John Suckling Comptroller of the Household*, *Sir George Calvert and Sir Edward Conway Principal Secretaries of State*, *Sir Richard Weston Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Sir Julius Caesar Master of the Rolls*, who had done the same.

Mr. *Pryn* afterward in p. 69. having mentioned the Dissolution of the *Spanish Match*, gives an account of the bringing on the Marriage with *France*, and saith, *It was concluded in the life of King James, the Articles concerning Religion being the same almost Verbatim, with those formerly agreed on in the Spanish Treaty, and so easily condescended to without much Debate*: and referreth there to the *Rot. tractationis & ratificationis matrimonii inter Dom. Carolum Regem & Dom. Henrettam Mariam sororem Regis Franc. i Car.* in the *Rolls*.

The *Demagogues* of the old long Parliament who made such loud Outcries of the danger of Popery here and of their strenuous endeavours to free the Kingdom from it, had nothing in their *Famous 19 Propositions* to bar the right of any Heir to the Crown for the being a Papist. The exact Collections afford many instances of their declaring, *That they would provide for the greatness of his Majesty and his Royal Posterity in future times*, and in which there was no *Proviso* respecting any Religionary Tenets they should profess. It

It appears in Mr. Pryn's memorable *Speech* in that *House of Commons* on Monday the 4th of December, 1648. touching the Kings answers to the Propositions of both Houses, whether they were satisfactory or not in the Isle of Wight Treaty, that that Parliament that was concern'd for the saving of their own Credit as well as the Souls of the People to make that Treaty to end with the extermination of Popery from England, did not in the application of the most proper means for that purpose, judge the debarring any Popish Prince here from his Inheritance of the Crown any proper, or necessary one. For in p. 58. of that *Speech* 'tis said, *As to any danger to our Church from Religion there is as good Security and Provision granted us by the King, as we did or could desire even in our own terms.* First, *He hath fully consented to pass an Act for the more effectual disabling of Jesuites, Papists and Popish Recusants from disturbing the State and deluding the Laws, and for the prescribing of a new Oath for the more speedy discovery and Conviction of Recusants.* Secondly, *To an Act of Parliament for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.* Thirdly, *To an Act for the due Levying the Penalties against Recusants, and disposing of them as both Houses shall appoint.* Fourthly, *To an Act whereby the practices of the Papists against the State may be prevented, the Laws against them duly executed, and a stricter Course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of Mass in the Court or any other part of the Kingdom: whereby it is made Treason for any Priests to say Mass in the Court or Queens own Chappel.* Fifthly, *To an Act for abolishing all Innovations, Popish Superstitions, Ceremonies, Altars, Rayles, Crucifixes, Images, Pictures, Copes, Crosses, Surplices, Vestments, bowings at the name of Jesus or toward the Altar, &c.* By all which Acts added to our former Laws against Recusants, I dare affirm we have far better Provision and Security against Papists, Jesuites, Popish Recusants, &c for our Churches and Religions Safety and States too, then any Protestant Church, State and Kingdom whatsoever: so as we need not fear any future danger from Papists or Popery if we be careful to see those Concessions duly put in Execution, when turned into Acts, and our former Laws.

And afterward in that *Speech* p. 110. he shews how dear the Kings consenting to pass five such Acts cost him: for saith he, *The Jesuites understanding that the King beyond and contrary to their expectation hath granted all or most of our propositions in the Isle of Wight, and fully condescended to five new Bills for the Extirpation of Mass, Popery and Popish Innovations out of his Dominions and putting all Laws in Execution against them, and for a speedier Discovery and Conviction of them then formerly, &c are so enraged with the King and so inexorably incensed against him (as I am credibly informed) that now they are mad against him and thirst for nothing but his Blood.*

Mr. Pryn had mentioned in that *Speech* before, that some Jesuites and Jesuited Agitators had engaged the Army to dissolve that Treaty with the King: and 'tis no wonder if that prying Order who knew the Kings Aversion to Popery, as well as the most stupid of his Enemies did when they saw him consenting to pass five such Bills, was the more brisk in executing its Designs against him, and that as Mr. Pryn saith in his perfect Narrative, a Priest present at the Kings death flourished his Sword with an exclamation, *That now the greatest Enemy we had in the World was gone.* But this by the way. I had not mentioned how dear the consenting to those Bills that would have been so fatal to Popery and have prevented the Phrase of its growth from being used at this time of day, but that some persons not vers'd in the passages of those evil days, seem to think that there was nothing of Religion to support that Kings Title to Martyrdom, but what concern'd his Adhesion to Episcopacy and its Revenue.

In the very solemn League and Covenant its takers declared, *they had before their Eyes the honour and happiness of the Kings Majesty and his Posterity.* And I have seen a printed paper of the Presbyterian Divines of one of the Associations in the late times, wherein they do expressly affirm and argue it that any of the Royal Posterity here ought not to be debarr'd from their Hereditary Right to the Crown, by being either Papists or Idolaters.

If we look so far back as the great Conjunction in the beginning of King James's Reign, namely in the year 1605. we shall find that there was then a Paper before mentioned published in Print called a *Protestation of the Kings Supremacy made by the Nonconforming Ministers* which were suspended or deprived that year, and that the first Paragraph or Tenet in that Protestation is this, *We hold and maintain the same Authority and Supremacy in all Causes and over all Persons Civil and Ecclesiastical, granted by Statute to Queen Elizabeth, and expressed and declared in the Book of Advertisements and Injunctions and in Master Bilson against the Jesuites, to be due in full and ample manner (without any limitation or qualification) to the King and his Heirs and Successors for ever, &c.* And the 4th Paragraph in that Protestation (part whereof I have before recited) is, *viz. We hold that though the Kings of this Realm were no Members of the Church but very Infidels, yea and Persecutors of the Truth, that yet those Churches that shall be gathered together within these Dominions, ought to acknowledge and yield the same Supremacy to them. And that the same is not tyed to their Faith and Christianity, but to their very Crown, from which no Subject or Subjects have power to separate or disjoyn it. And in the 18th Paragraph they say, That if the King subjecting himself to Spiritual Guides and Governors shall afterward refuse to be governed and guided by them, according to the Word of God, and living in notorious sin without repentance, shall wilfully contemn and despise all their Holy and Religious Censures, that then these Governors are to refuse to Administer the Holy Things of God to him and to leave him to himself, and to the secret Judgment of God, and wholly to resign and give over that spiritual Charge and Tuition over him, which by calling from God and the King they did undertake. And more then this they may not do. And after all this we hold that he still retaineth and ought to retain entirely and solidly, all that aforesaid Supreme Power and Authority over the Churches of this Dominion, in as ample a manner as if he were the most Christian Prince in the World.*

If therefore any shall think it reasonable to pronounce that the substantial Interest of Protestancy, and of the Kingdom doth *Stare moribus antiquis virisque*, I have pointed them to Arch-Bishop Abbot, to Bishop Andrews the Antagonist to Bellarmine (under the weight of whose Arguments Bellarmine fell in the *Certamen*) and to others of our old Counsellors of State, and particularly Arthur Baron Chichester of Belfast, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, your Lordships Noble God-Father, (in comparison of many of whom when we look on some of our great Politic and Protestant-would-be's of this Age, and who would let none be Protestants but themselves, we may well cry out, *In qualem paulatim fluximus urbem*) and have shewn how those great Confessors by their Overt Acts provided against the belief of the Doctrine of Popery, without the barring any of the Royal Line from the inheriting the Crown. And when I see some of our (till of late) unheard of Statists so eager to dispossess the Land of the Evil Spirit of Popery by illegal means, and the use of the great Name of Protestancy as a Spell, I fancy to my self that they may be call'd on by it, as the Jewish Exorcists were in the Acts of the Apostles, who taking on them to call over

them which had evil Spirits, the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying we adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth, the evil Spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye? Thus to any who shall say that there is no way possible to secure English Mens continuing Protestants, but by breaking in on the Succession in the Right Line, may it be returned by Popery, the old Protestants of the Church of England I know, and the old Nonconformist Protestants, and the old Covenanting Presbyterian Protestants I know, who knew otherwise to secure Protestantism, and likewise the French Protestants I know, who never practised any Out-rage against the Great Harry the 4th of France's Government after he had left Protestantism, but who are ye? The truth is, the Protestants in France so vastly numerous in his time (which any one may imagine, who considers that the most careful thinking men in that Realm make them now to be two Millions, and that a judicious French Author hath writ, that the Jesuites have lately computed them to be above a Million and a half) have shewn the World a great example of their Protestant Loyalty in that they were ready as cheerfully to obey their Prince when he was a Papist, as when they served him in set Battels against the Power of the holy League, and the Majority of his Nobles, and of his Metropolis, and of the chief Cittadels in his Realm.

After they saw him go to Mass, they never call'd him Julian, or Lampoon'd him in Hymns, or demurred to his Beard, or had any fears or jealousies of his touching a hair of their heads, nor threatned him that the Galilean would foil him: and no Language could have more truly expressed their Sentiments then that of the famous Pierre du Moulin in his defence of the Faith, *Nous sommes prests d'exposer nos vies pour la defence de nos Rois, contre qui que ce soit, just-il de nostre Religion. Quiconque seroit autrement, ne defendroit point la Religion, mais serviroit son ambition, & attireroit un grand blame sur la verite de l'evangile.* i. e. We are ready to expose our lives for the defence of our Kings against whomsoever it be, although of our own Religion. And whosoever should do otherwise, should not defend Religion, but serve his own ambition; and would draw a great reproach on the truth of the Gospel. Considering the indeleble Character of Harry the 4th's Protestant Good Nature, his Subjects of that Religion did prepare their thoughts to be Lachrymists for him, rather then themselves, and knew that by his Conversion to Popery, if in this life only he had hopes, he was of all men most miserable, and that his absolution left him only in the State of a Crown'd Victim.

I have before mentioned the Apology for that Scholar of the Jesuites John Chassell, which endeavours to prove that Harry the 4th was by that Assassin not only wounded very fairly according to the Language of the Brothers of the Blade, but in the Style of their Honour according to the Jesuites Morals very heroically, and as the Contents of Cap. 1. Part. 3d, of the Apology expresses it, *Actus Castellii heroicus est in substantia sua.*

He moreover tells us in plain terms Part. 2. Cap. 7. that *Excommunication quæ ab hæresim irrogatur, remedium potius est ecclesiæ quam excommunicationis, &c.* and that Excommunication for Heresie doth quite take away any Regal Right; And in Cap. 8. before mentioned, (*viz. Neque etiam à Papa absolutus Rex esse potest*) he asketh, *Quod si quærat quid ergo absolutio præstet, si jus amissum non redeat?* And it followeth, *Quod si absolutus impænitens existat, effectus alius non foret, quam is de quo supra, ita si (quod Deus velit) pænitentia foret vera, certe effectus propterea non exiguus esset futurus: utpote in spiritualibus, remittendo illum in ecclesiæ gremium; & regni Calorum Capacem*

cem reddendo: temporalium vero respectu, quicquid illa operari posset, foret ad reddendum eum compotem novi juris, & per electionem auferendo impedimentum in foro fori: quo durante is ille esse non posset. And then he saith, *The Pope cannot confer such new Right to the same Kingdom on him, for that it depends not simply on the power of the Keys so to do, and in fine, makes the Right to the Crown irrevocably devolv'd on the next person capable who has a right to it, quum* (saith he) *ratum sit inter jurisconsultos, incapacem haberi ut mortuum, & non impedire sequentes.* In the 3^d Chapter of the 2^d Part namely, *That Henry of Bourbon cannot be called King by reason of his pretended Conversion, the vile Apologist derides the Conversion of this Great King, and labours to prove by fifteen Instances, That after his Conversion he did favour the Cause of Heresy more then ever, and particularly by his observance of his Leagues and Agreements with the Queen of England and other Hereticks, ut experientia* (saith he) *per novas ejus actiones locupletissime testatur.*

Etenim primò sœderum pacta cum hæreticis facta testaq; servat: quibus ut hactenus nondum renuntiavit, ita neque dum renunciare cogitat.

Secundò ipsi hæretici in Germaniâ, Genevæ & alibi ejus actiones comprobant.

Tertio contemnit Catholicos & promovet hæreticos: illos repudiat atq; rejicit, hos verò muneribus honorat amplissimis & augustissimis in toto regno, & alibi tum bello, tum pace, &c.

Quartò consilium suum è puris patris hæreticis stabilis, &c.

So that after he had with St. Peter denied his Lord, the followers of St. Peter's pretended Successor, call'd him in effect a Galilean, and said that the Speech of his Actions bewrayed him; and after his absolution he continued in effect, what the Pope styled him in his Bull of Excommunication, *filius iræ*, and after as a Prodigal having fed among heretical Swine, he returned to his Romish Ghostly Fathers house, and had cryed, *peccavi*, and abjured, and his Father had compassion on him, he experimented the contrary to, for this my Son was dead and is alive again, and himself was the fatted Calf that was slain; and so much wantonness was shewed by the contrivers of his dire fate, that Gassendus in his life of Peiresk, Book 2^d shews how in the beginning of the Year 1610. An Almanack or yearly Prognostication was brought out of Spain, in which the Accidents of Harry the 4ths death were foretold, and that it was sent to his Majesty to read, who slighted it, as Gassendus did likewise all judicial Astrology, but yet supposed that the figure-flinger might possibly be acquainted with the Plot against that Kings Life: and saith, *sure I am it could not be perfectly conceal'd either in Spain or Italy: for even the Kings Ambassadors and particularly the most excellent Johannes Bochartus Lord of Champigny then Agent at Venice, had already preadvertised his Majesty thereof: and it was sufficiently proved that all the Sea-faring Men of Marseilles who for two Months before came from Spain, brought word that there was a report spread abroad in Spain, that the King of France was already or should be killed by a Sword or Knife.*

Poor Harry the 4th! He who while a Protestant had Dominion over his own Stars, and his Enemies Stars too (for they were his Enemies who made him first be call'd Great, and their designing to ruine him by embroiling France in Civil Wars, tended to the advancement of his Interest and his Glory, and the Artifices by which they thought to have chased him out of Guyen brought him into the heart of France, and their former by unjustifiable practices urging the King his Predecessor, to have prosecuted him with more violence then he had done, were the causes of his being reconciled to that King) and who then in the most dark and stormy night of his Affairs

Affairs never wanted that Illumination from above, which was like a Star to him, and not only a sign of fairer weather, but a mark of direction in the soul, and which would have furnished his Portraiture in Story with another gues Star than that usually engraved on *Cæsar's* Image, and which by its blazing seven days ore the Games consecrated to *Cæsar* by *Augustus*, did make him *inter Divos*, and did awe the World as being thought his Soul which vouchsafed from Heaven to visit it with its lustre, this *Harry* the 4th, was at last grown the *Iudicium* of Star-gazers.

And if any one shall say that *Franciscus de Verona* *Constantinus* the Author of the *Apology for Chappel*, was not a *Voucher* good enough for the spreading the Belief of the Doctrine, that *Heretical Princes* by their *absolution* from the Pope are not restored to their *Regal Rights*, let him consult the Great *Thuanus* and he will find that in his *Book* 135, and on the Year 1603 (where he gives an account of the *Gun-powder Treason* here) he saith that the *Conspirators* therein, *Ante omnia conscientiam instruunt, eaq; instructa ad facinus audendum obfirmant animum: sic autem à Theologis suis differatur.* That *Hereticks* are yearly excommunicated by the Pope in the *bulle cœnæ*, and are ipso facto, fallen into the punishment of the Law, and that thence it followeth that *Christian Kings* if they fall into *Heresy*, may be deposed, and their Subjects released immediately from their *Princes* Dominion, *nec jus illud recuperare posse, etiamsi ecclesiæ reconcilientur. Ecclesiæ communem omnium parentem cum nemini ad eam redeunti claudere gremium cum dicitur, adhibita distinctione interpretandum esse, modo non sit ad damnum & periculum ecclesiæ. Nam id verum esse quoad animam, non quoad Regnum. Nec solum ad Principes hac labe infectos pœnam extendi, sed etiam ad eorum filios qui à Regni successione ob vitium paternum pelluntur: hæresim quippe lepram, & morbum hæreditarium esse, atque ut disertius res exprimitur, Regnum amittere qui Romanam Religionem deserit, diris illum devoveri, nec unquam ipsum aut illius posteros in Regnum restitui: quoad animam à solo Pontifice posse absolvi. His se rationibus cum satis tutos intus existimarent, munimenta externa conjurationi querere ceperunt &c. ita ad facinus non solum licitum & laudabile, verum etiam meritorium à Theologis suis auctorati accesserunt.*

They thought it seems that by the Authority of the Doctrines of those *Divines* they might blow up the King and three Estates with *Gun-powder* very fairly.

It is a thing that cannot have escaped your *Lordships* curious Observation, that both the *Nonconformists* and *Papists* were sturdy *Petitioners* to King *James* in the beginning of his Reign, that he would be a Fautor to them and their *Hypotheses*. In *April* in the Year 1603, a *Petition* was presented to him call'd, the humble *Petition* of the *Ministers* of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church, and there they particularly desire, that *Ministers* may not be urged to subscribe but according to the Law, to the *Articles* of Religion and the Kings *Supremacy* only, and that none migat be excommunicated without the consent of his *Pastor*, and therein they complain of *Ministers* being suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for Mens traditions.

This *Petition* was commonly called the *Millenary Petition*, the *Petitioners* averring themselves to be more then a thousand: and an animadverting Answer was made to the same by the *Vice-Chancellor* and *Doctors*, and *Proctors*, and *Heads* of Houses in the *University* of Oxford, and printed in the Year 1604.

Methinks a *Humble Petition* with a thousand hands is a kind of *Contradictio in adjecto*. But the *University* in their *Animadversions* on the *Petition* do observe that the two contrary *Factions* of *Papists* and *Puritans* did shew

shew themselves by their Petitions discontented with the present State and Ecclesiastical Government. They mention particulars as parallels wherein their *Petitions* agreed and resemble them to *Samsons Foxes*, &c.

I had occasion before to mention to your Lordship the *Supplication of the Papists to King James*, that was Contemporary with that of the *Puritans*, and printed too in the same year; and tho I remember not any of our *Historians* to have given the World an account of that memorable Petition, yet the Impartial *Thuanus* doth it: and in *Book 135.* and on the Year 1605. going to relate the *History of the Gun-powder Treason*, he saith, *Ad libellum supplicem pro libertate Conscientiarum à Majorum Religioni additis* (i.e. the Papists) *in proximis Comitibus oblatum, & à Rege rejectum, fama erat, aliam his proximis, quæ jam aliquoties dilata erant, porrectum iri, qui non repulsæ ut prior, periculum, sed concessionis vel ab invito extorquendæ necessitatem adjunctam haberet. Itaque qui regni negotia sub principe generoso ac minime suspicioso procurabant, nihil pejus veriti in eo laborabant ut petitiones & iis adjunctam necessitatem eluderent. Verum non de gratiâ, de quâ desperabatur decimò obtinendâ, sed de repulsâ illâ vel cum regni exitio, quod minime rebantur illi, inter conjuratos agebatur.*

And as to the *Puritans* Petition to King James, *The Resolution of the Lords* and likewise of the *Judges* assembled in *Star-Chamber* shortly after, doth I think refer to it in the 3d S. viz. *Whether it was an offence punishable and what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions and Collected a Multitude of Hands thereto to prefer to the King in a publick Cause, as the Puritans had done with an intimation to the King that if he denied the Suit, many thousands of his Subjects would be discontented, where to all the Justices answered, that it was an offence finable at discretion and very near Treason and Felony in the punishment, for they tended to the raising of Sedition and Rebellion, and discontent among the People, to which resolution all the Lords declared that some of the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the King how he intended to grant a toleration to Papists, &c. And the Lords severally declared how the King was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a Protestation to them that he never intended and would spend the last drop of Blood before he would do it.*

I remember not in the *Milenary* Petition any such expression as the insolent intimation, that thousands would be discontented if it were not granted: but do on the occasion of this ruffianly way of petitioning by Papists and Puritans, remember what *Alexander ab Alexandro* speaks of the Persians who worshipped Fire, that they did once in their supplicating their God, threaten him that if he would not grant their Request they would throw him into the water.

It was therefore no imprudent Act of the *Nonconforming Divines* who had been deprived of their Livings to publish voluntarily such a Protestation of their Tenets as aforesaid, after the detection of the Papists Gun powder Treason Plot, and by which Act the Government was diverted from putting such a Cautionary Test on their Party as was on the Papists by the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Certain it is that both the Parties appeared very rude in the manner of their Petitioning. In the *Decrets* where the *Text* saith that a thing is done *Contra fidem Catholicam*, the *gloss* explains it to be *Contra bonos mores*, and so it may be said that both the Petitioners for the Roman Catholick Faith, and for the others alledged Catholick Faith were injurious to each by their unmannerly Petitionings, as well as to their Prince: and their being both such frequent Aggressors against his quiet, gave occasion for the *Question* to vex his Reign, viz. *Which were the worse of the two, or whether they were not equally bad, and so*

many may carelessly render them according to the saying, *Rustici res secant per medium.*

What Bishop *Elmore* the Bishop of *London* thought in such a Case I have said, and yet that *Bishop as Fuller* tells us in the *Church History*, was a *Learned Man* and a *strict and stout Champion for Discipline*, and on which account was more mock'd by *Mar-Prelate* and hated by the *Nonconformists* than any one. And a great *Son of the Church* and *Minister of the State*, hath judiciously in a publick *Speech* inculcated the different regard to be had to those who *stray from the Flock* and those who would *destroy it*. Moreover a great *Justiciary of the Realm*, in the *Trial* of one of the *Popish Plotters*, took occasion to observe, That *Popery* was ten times worse than the *Heathen Idolatry*.

And *Dr. Burnet* in a printed *Sermon*, having said, That in many places *Lutherans* are no less and in some they are more fierce against the *Calvinists* than against *Papists*; adds, like a strange sort of *People among our selves*, that are not ashamed to own a greater aversion to any sort of *Dissenters* than to the *Church of Rome*. I hope the *Authority* of that great *Divine* and excellent *Person* will in the point of this *Comparison* help to allay such a mistaken *Aversion* to some mistaken *Dissenters*. I care not who knows the great deference I have to the judgment of that great *Historian* of our *Reformation*, and whose *History* of which as the *House of Commons* has done right to by one of their *Votes*, so likewise hath the highest *Judicatory* in *England*, I mean the *House of Lords* by a late *Order* of theirs, by which the *Thanks* of that *House* are given him for the great service done by him to this *Kingdom*, and to the *Protestant Religion*, in writing the *History* of the *Reformation* of the *Church of England* so truly and exactly, and that he be desired to proceed to the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient speed, &c. As the words in the *Journal* are.

My reading lately ten small printed *Controversial Discourses* between two *Baronets of Cheshire* near of kin to each other (in which are many references to *Historical Antiquities*) concerning the *Illegitimacy* of one *Amicia*, Daughter to one of the *Earls of Chester*, and my observing that one of those *Authors* blames the other for not better learning the duty to his deceased *Grand-mother* (as his words are) then by divulging the shame of her *Illegitimacy*, and saith, there is no *Precedent in Scripture* of any man that did divulge the shame of any person, out of whose loyns he did descend except the wicked *Ham*, and that the other *Author* thinks himself on the account of truth, and for its sake to assert her *Illegitimacy*, those many *Tracts* passed about that *Controversy* from the Year 1673 to 1676, occasioned my thinking that thus have some *Writers* that would take it ill perhaps not to be thought legitimate, and true *Sons of the Church of England*, took too much pains to prove the *Birth* of its *Reformation* to be illegitimate, to the great *Applause* of the *Papists*, and that our *Reverend Historian* of it, did seasonably come in to Aid his *Mother Church*, by publishing the very *Records* that would secure her from a blush on that account, and leave that *Mauvaise honte* (as the *French* call it) to be *Enemies*, and hath appear'd by his very laborious and judicious *Writings*, to be a *Person* as of very great *Abilities*, so of a great and frank inclination to employ them even to the over-obliging a *Country*, and which though naturally attended with envy from some mult too be with acknowledgements from others of that *Dignity* and *Authority* that his mind is possessed of, and such as *Valerius Maximus* speaking of as innate in *Famous Men* who have no *extrinsic Authority*, saith of it, *Quam rectè quis dixerit longum & beatum honorem esse sine honore*. And he who in the course of his *History* and his other *Works* hath appear'd so *Impartial* and

and Accurate in his Observations of Men and things, may very well be supposed not to have been partial in his comparison of Papists and Dissenters, nor do I think he receded from his usual close judging of things, when in one of his Books he said, that it is not to be denied that it were better there were no Revealed Religion in the World, then that Mankind should by its influences be so vitiated as to become more barbarous and cruel then it would be, if Acted by no higher Principles than those are with which Nature inspires Men.

I will not with our Learned and Reverend Judge, undertake to compute how many times Popery is worse then the Religion of the Romans : but this I will say that had I been in the Roman Senate and had there heard any one propound to them a removal of their minds out of that Coast of Religion which by the light of Nature lay open before them, into the Region of the Jesuites Morals, I would have said, *My Masters let us keep where we are :* and should have expected that the Reasons I would have urged for their so doing, would have had the effect of the good Omen that happen'd in that remarkable Crisis, when the Roman Senators were debating whether they should quit Rome or remove to Veij, and when a Souldier then coming on the Guard, and his Captain being heard to cry out to him, *Signifer signum statue, hic optime manebimus*, occasioned their adhering to Rome.

I think that no Protestant who compares the Tenets of the Nonconformist Divines in King James's time with the Tenets of Popery, will prefer the latter before the former. But it is not deniable that before King James's time, and then and since many Puritans and Nonconformists have made great Schisms in the Church and disturbances in the State, and that especially in some particular Conjunctions. The great Epoche of 41 in England, and likewise in Ireland, will in our Histories preserve the Memory of the outrageous Principles of many Presbyterian Divines in the one Kingdom, and of Popish ones in the other : but if any shall be so partial to the Papists as either to justify their Commotion in Ireland, or to deny all part of the influence that Commotion had on ours here, he will find himself a vain imposer on the World.

A great inspector into our modern English Affairs, I mean the late Earl of Clarendon hath in his Animadversions on Cressys's Book against Dr. Stillingfleet said, *That nothing can be stranger then that Mr. Cressy should so magnify the general obedience of all Roman Catholicks, that none of them was ever in Rebellion against the King or his Father, when he knows very well and hath some marks of it, that the whole Irish Nation (very few Persons of Honour excepted) joyn'd in Rebellion against the King : but for that Rebellion neither Presbyterian, Independant, or Anabaptists had been able to have done any harm in England. For the Scots Rebellion was totally suppressed, and their Army disbanded before the Irish Rebellion begun. It was that which produced all the mischief that succeeded in England, and gave those Sects in Religion opportunity to bring in their Confusion to the destruction of Church and State, &c.*

But as to the Papists coming in for their share in the guilt of our Commotion here, we have the incontestable Authority of the Royal Martyr, who in one of his printed Declarations saith, *And we are confident that a greater number of that Religion (meaning the Popish) is in the Army of the Rebels then in our own, and 'twas there before said, All men know the great number of Papists which serve in their Army, Commanders and others.*

The Author of the Regal Apology printed in the Tear 48, in p. 36, answereth that part of the Declaration of the House of Commons, that so unworthily reflects on his Majesty, as to offering a toleration to the Papists in Ireland,

Ireland, contrary to his former resolutions, which saith the Author, was on great and pressing necessity which hath no Law, and to that degree of necessity as the two Houses had driven him, so the Consequences were to be set on their Score not his own, yet even then in his Letters about that Affair published by themselves, he doth insist on it that the Bargain may be made as good as can be for him. But I have seen other Letters from one of his Secretaries to the Irish, which I am assured were true, wherein where these expressions after expostulation of their delays in his Assistance, He is inform'd that taking advantage of his low Condition, you insist on something in Religion more then formerly you were contented with. He hath therefore commanded me to let you know that were his Condition much lower, you shall never force him to any further Concessions to the prejudice of his Conscience and of the true Protestant Religion in which he is resolved to live, and for which he is ready to die, and that he will joyn with any Protestant Prince, nay with these Rebels themselves how odious soever (meaning his two Houses) rather then yield the least to you in this particular.

I should with extreme reluctance touch the Sores of these Sects who yet have both at several times given such deadly wounds to the peace of the Kingdom, but that they are Nuisances to the publick quiet in raking up the odious Comparisons of one anothers practices, and that the Papists on the occasion of any of the worse sort of Protestants or Nonconformists being Convicted of Sedition or Treason (a thing that may be expected from the degeneracy of Humane Nature to happen oftener from some of a Religion of so great Numbers, then from a persuasion that has Comparatively but a handful of men for its Disciples, just as accordingly perhaps where one Papist is hanged for Clipping or Coynning twenty Protestants are so) are so apt to expect that the World should acquit the present Principles and former practices of that Sect from Disloyalty on their Out-cry that they are no Puritans or Presbyterians, and as ridiculously as if a false Coyner Arraigned for the Fact, should trouble the Court with a Plea and Noise, that he was no House-breaker, and but that on the detection of a Plot of Papists, several persons that have in their publick Capacities done many Acts of Hostility to the Interest of the Kingdom, yet entirely by being more busie *Anti-Papists* then others, have been immediately admitted to the good Graces of the People, and cried up by them as *Patriots* and *Hero's*, and by their afterward espousing the true Interest of the Kingdom as to the point of Popery, all their former *spurious* Actions have been not only pardoned, but almost according to the Canon Law legitimated; and as the Popes in any *Croisade* for the *Exterminium* of *Hereticks* were wont to give plenary *Indulgences* for all Sins past and to come for many years, so have the People heaped such Indulgences on such Persons that in any Conjunction shewed their zeal in the extermination of Popery.

And though to an ordinary view these mens Title to their Fame may appear by some of their former Actings much *incumbered*, yet who ever pryes into it is as much generally hated as are those *Projectors*, who rake for their Bread among the weak Titles of other Mens Estates, and cry out *supra* when they have found out a flaw there.

'Tis observable that S. James c. 2. in his Assertion of Justification by works, gives two Instances of Persons so justified, and that one is of *Abraham*, and the other of *Rahab the Harlot*, in v. 25. likewise also was not *Rahab the Harlot* justified by works, when she had received the Messengers, and had sent them another way: and yet too that sending the Spies another way as the Fact is Historically mentioned in *Joshua the 2d*, would to some *Scruples* seem unjustifiable. Thus do the People in their way justify all that

that they believe are assistful to them in the attacking of the Romish *Babylon*, and look on them as their *Saviours*, and as captious as they are against others, yet think of nothing but *saving them and all that they have*; as was in the case of *Rahab*.

Nor is it to be wonder'd at that Men who have so much to account for to the Public should be thus discharged by the populace; tho many of them are *Gallios* in Religion, and were no more concern'd for the Eclipse of Protestancy or the light of the Gospel in the year 1678. or 1680. then they were for the four Eclipses of the Luminaries, *viz.* two of the *Sun*, and two of the *Moon*, that will be in the year 1701. and particularly of that of the *Sun*, which will be in *January* then and not seen by us; but only by our *Antipodes*; but there is that adherent to Popery, that if it could rivet it self into our Law here, it would make the light of the *Sun* not worth the looking on, namely the *Confiscation* of the Goods and Estates of those that *Holy Church* calls *Heretics*, and the throwing them into such forlorn Prisons where they could see neither Sun or Moon: and therefore as the *Devils* those Seducers in Chains are hated by Men, because they know those Fiends would destroy their lives if they could; for the same reason all that lye open to the Name of *Heretics*, will be animated with a brisk hatred against Popery, and magnify those as their tutelar Angels that shall pretend to defend them from it; tho such did before conspire against them. But therefore because a Zeal against Popery is a remedy so cheap and so easie to be had, and yet so infallible a one against the Peoples being discontented with Men who did before so much by their Principles poison the Realm, 'tis the common interest of us all, both Protestants and Papists, out of love to our Country, to wish that no Men may be tempted so fatally to injure it hereafter, by being beforehand sure of purchasing both Pardon and Adoration, from the People on such easie terms.

The strong currents of *Inclination* I find in my self, and observe in others, not only to Pardon, but to extol and magnifie, nay to *bless* all Men that help their Country, as it is contesting with Popery or Presbytery, or either of those or any Religion-trade, and to say to them as the Expression is in the Psalms, *We blest you in the name of the Lord*, will I hope be accompanied with such an *Extirpation* of it as will not leave any *Fibre* behind it in our *English* World.

As it need not be told to our *Divines* of the Church of *England*, that they are under no obligation to strain any point of Courtesie whereby to render the *Papists* generally not worse than *Puritans*, and that their Character hath been by the *Papists* all along render'd more vile than that of the *Puritans*, and that *Doleman* in his *Book of the Succession*, weighing the Parties in *England*, and having first spoke of the Protestants of the Church of *England*, afterward p. 242. saith, *That the Puritan party is more generally favour'd throughout the whole Realm, with all those which are not of the Roman Religion, then is the Protestant upon a certain general persuasion that the profession of the Puritan Party is the more perfect, especially in great Towns, where Preachers have made more impression in the Artificers and Burgeses, than in the Common People. And among the Protestants themselves, all those that are less interested in Ecclesiastical Livings, or other Preferments depending on the State, are more affected commonly to the Puritans, &c.* And p. 244. *The Puritan Party at home in England is thought to be most vigorous of any other; that is to say, most ardent, quick, bold, resolute, and to have a great part of the best Captains and Soldiers on their side, which is a point of no small moment; and that Weston, Lib. 3. de Trip. Hom. Offic. Cap. 16. p. 226. in a very janty manner, crying up the Puritans*

beyond the Protestants of the Church of England, saith *Protestantibus in re Sacra præstabiliore puritanos. Qui enim estis Protestantes, hominum iudicamini ignavissimi omnium, religionis etiam fūco destituti, impiissimi æruscatores, parati jurare in cuiusvis verba, modo inde emolumentum rebus vestris accrescat*, and in p. 227, *Puritani sane multo solidius ac syncerius sua dogmata profitentur*; So neither need it be told the *Papists* that the *Divines* of the Church of England did never prefer the *Tenets* of Popery, or Professors thereof to those of Puritanism or Presbytery *as such*, and that they never complain'd of the Protection the *Dutch* and *French* Churches have long here enjoy'd with Liberty to worship God according to their peculiar Rites and Church Discipline, and that upon the late great migration of many French Protestants from their own Country hither, under great Circumstances of want, our *Divines*, and particularly those in and near *London*, shew'd all the efforts of their Art of Persuasion from their *Pulpits* to move their Hearers to liberal Contributions to them, that they could have possibly done in the case of their own Countrymen or Kindred; and that one of those *Divines* in one of the greatest *Cures* there being for his Learning and Life and Endowments proper to his Function a great Ornament to the Gospel, when he with great Eloquence so pathetically bespoke the Relief of his Great Auditory for those poor *Hugonots*, did characterize them as such of whom none was ever suspected to have machinated any thing against their King's Person or Government, or to have attempted the burning of his Metropolis.

I have granted that the *Puritan* and the *Papish* Petitioners did both in the beginning of King James his Reign offend *Contra bonos mores*: but if any should ask me which *Sect* was the more peccant by such incivility, I will say that in one regard the *Puritans* were so, for that they were bred to the Knowledge of better things; but that in another regard the *Papists* most certainly were so, if *Thuanus* may be believ'd, who in the place I last cited out of him, relating to the *Gun-powder Plot*, (by which it appears that their Petitioning was but a stalking-horse, or as I may say, a *Trojan Horse* to hide and enclose armed Men) further shews, That the *Jesuites* in England employ'd one privately into Spain in the Name of the *Catholics* with Letters of Commendation to *Creswell* the *Jesuite* there residing, to negotiate with the Government there, to send an Army into England in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and that afterward one Wright was sent into Spain upon the same Errand, and that then likewise Guy Faux was by some of the *Jesuites* sent thither to *Creswell* to hasten the Design, and that Faux was instructed to take Care that it should be signify'd to the King of Spain, that the Condition of the *Roman Catholics* would be worse here under King James than it was under Queen Elizabeth, and that it might be effected that *Spinola* should then Land an Army in *Milford Haven*. And then saith the great Historian, they not being able to effect that, proceeded to the Plot of the *Gun-powder Treason*.

The *Papish* Petitioners then did essay how they might *flexere superos* and *Acheronta movere* at the same time.

But in truth, as in *Whale-fishing*, 'tis customary for Marriners apprehending Danger to the Vessel from the greatness of the Whale, to throw out an empty Barrel into the Sea, for the Whale to toss about on the Waters, and to receive some diversion from it, that while he is so diverted, they may the more securely wound him with their dead-doing Irons, thus did the *Papists* throw out their empty Petitions to that King only to divert and amuse him, that they might surprize him with the late they intended him.

Yet

Yet now if any one should put the Interrogatory to me, which Person I had the least Kindness for, namely, a Non-Conformist that favour'd the Doctrine of *Resistance*, or a Papist that believ'd the Grounds and School-Conclusions of the Doctrine of Popery, as King James's before mention'd Expression was (and which *whoever did*, he said, *could neither be a good Christian or a faithful Subject*) I shall by way of Answer crave aid from a Judgment given by Philip of Macedon, who having heard the Merits of a Cause or Complaint that happen'd between two lewd Persons, gave the Decree, That one of them should presently fly out of Macedon, and that the other should run after him as fast as he could.

But against any Seditious Protestant, I would wish more severity exercised than against such a Papist: for the former doth not only rebel against his Prince as the latter; but doth according to Job's Expression, more rebel against the light: and is guilty of the *Simulata Sanctitas*, and so according to the Expression before mention'd out of the *Apocalypse*, Reward her as she has rewarded you, and double unto her double, &c. deserves to be doubly punish'd for his *duple iniquitas*, and shall magnifie the Justice of the King's Ministers done to their Prince and Country, and to themselves, when in any Conjunction they shall find any call'd Protestants turning Gods and the King's grace into wantonness, and Religion into Rebellion, they shall level their most solicitous endeavors with all the sharpness of the Law against such nominal Protestants; for then the *salus populi* will engage them as the Physicians say, to mind the *Urgentius Symptoma*, and for which they have a Rule, that *Cum diversæ repugnantesq; inter se committantur indicationes, parendum est omnino fortioribus*.

'Tis fit I should recompence the trouble I have given your Lordship by what I have said of this Question by diverting you with the News of another Question, that among some Company was lately bandy'd in Discourse here, between a Papist and a Non-Conformist (and 'twas a much more termagant Question than the former) namely, *Whether Popery or Mahometanism be the worst*: I was sorry to find the Non-Conformist to give his Judgment as he did in a gross and undistinguishing manner, that the Impostures of Mahomet were fitter to be embraced than several Tenets he named in Popery, which tho' erroneous, yet are denominable as Tenets of Religion; but did for a while forbear giving my Opinion in the Case or relieving the Papist with any notion of mine, tho' I found the Non-Conformist as somewhat the better Disputant pressing too hard on him, gave me occasion to have done it, than if I would.

I calling to mind how the Papists of old have so often decided it, that Heretics are worse than Turks or Infidels, and that they have ranked our Religion of the Church of England with Atheism, since I allow not of works of super-erogation, would not super-erogate in being too hasty in moderating in the Dispute.

Thus Maldona'e on St. John, saith, *Qui Catholici sunt Majore odio Calvinistas cæterosq; omnes Hæreticos prosequuntur quam Gentiles*. And thus Stapleton in his Oration or Speech against the Politicians, saith, *That the Heretics are worse than Turks*. And Mason in his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 8. cites Gulielm. Reinold. in his *Calv. Turci* l. 1. c. 7. and l. 4. c. 11. for saying *Religionem nostram* (meaning that of the Church of England) *ipsâ Turcicâ esse deteriore*. Mason further brings in Bristo, saying *Religionem nostram nullam esse ipsâ Experientiâ probari*: And cites another Popish Author for saying *Protestantes nullam habent fidem, nullam Spem, nullam Charitatem, nullam Pœnitentiam, nullam Justificationem, nullam Ecclesiam, nullum Altare, nullum Sacrificium, nullum Sacerdotium,*

Sacerdotium, nullam Religionem, Christum nullum; and quotes Cardinal Alan for saying, *Nostram liturgiam, sacramenta & Conciones istiusmodi esse, quæ sine dubio æternum offerunt exitium.*

The well meant pains of the Compilers of our *Litargy* in inserting there some good Prayers out of the *Mass*, to render it more agreeable to the Papists, was it seems all lost; and that perhaps occasion'd that angry Exclamation of Mr. Cartwright of old, *That in Ceremonies we ought to comply with the Turk rather than the Pope.*

I acquainted the Discourfers that Mr. Fox in the *Edition of the Acts and Monuments* printed together in one Volume in London, in the Year 1596, doth Combat this mighty Question in p. 702, and in the following Pages, viz. *Whether the Turk or the Pope is the greater Antichrist*, and at last faith p. 710. *In comparing the Turk with the Pope if a Question be asked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and judge that the Turk is the more open and manifest Enemy against Christ and the Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious Adversary to Christ and his Members, or whether of them hath Consumed and Spilt more Christian Blood, be with Sword or this with Fire and Sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, who do only write the History and Acts of them both.*

And I then telling the Nonconformist that the Jews for many obvious reasons did prefer the Doctrine of *Mahumetanisme* to that of *Popery*, some Papists beforemention'd had prefer'd it to Protestancy, and as he the Nonconformist had preferred it to Popery, he mention'd his fears that a sort of *Enthusiasts* among us called *Seekers*, might hereby be in great danger of stumbling on the Religion of *Mahumetanisme*, accordingly as of old when one went to demand of the Philosophers of the several *Sects*, which was the best of them, every one named his own *Sect* or *Party* in the first place, but all of them in the second place granted *Plato* to be the most eminent, that is the next best: whereupon those *Seekers* preferred *Plato*, because setting aside prejudicate Affection and Self-Love, *Plato's* Philosophy had thus carried the Garland.

I then took occasion to tell the Company that I thought 'twas extremely unjust to prefer Mahumetanisme with the many ridiculous and senseless things it comprehends to Christianity in Papists, blended with many erroneous *Tenets* which yet are capable of the name of Religion, and such as those great pious Papists beforementioned, viz. Father Paul, Thuanus, D' Offat, Erasmus, Peiresk perhaps own'd the belief of, as many thousands of others may still likewise do: but frankly interposed my opinion that I thought that *Popery* complicated with the real belief of the *Jesuites* Morals, and their vile Casuistical *Tenets* branded by the present Pope, was as unworthy of God and Humane Nature as any Hypothesis of Religion could be: and I as frankly told the Nonconformist whom I looked on as one who would not outrage the Law of the Land to advance the Gospel, that tho some erroneous points relating to Nonconformity, might without absurdity assume the name of Religion, yet among whomsoever those *Tenets* should be incorporated with the real belief and practice of the lawfulness of the Doctrine of Resistance, and of any persons Reforming the World by Arms without Warrant from the Municipal Laws so to do, yet such a Faith would be Faction, and such a Nominal Religion would be a real Rebellion, and much worse then *Mahumetanisme*.

I farther acquainted the Company that according to the discreet *Motto* of the House of Ormond, *Comme je trouve*, and the *Mode* of the Age to take the

the measures of knowledge by experiment, the usage that the better sort of Christians have found under *Turcisme* hath been by very many degrees milder then under Popery. *Erasmus* indeed was of a contrary opinion, for in his *Utilissima Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, printed in the Year 1530, he saith that *Exaudiuntur interim & aliorum voces abominandæ qui jactant esse tolerabilius agere sub imperio Turcicorum, quam sub Christianis Principibus ac sub Pontifice Romano*, and there he goes on at large to prove the inconvenience of living under the *Turkish* Government: but the order of the *Jesuites* was not then invented, and after a hundred years observation since, Protestants have judged as they did in *Erasmus* his time.

And in a Popish Book called *the Right of the Prelate and the Prince*, I find *Luther, de sæcul. potest. citat p. 55.* for saying that the Turk is *decius probior, prudentiorq; nostris principibus*. And I think it may seem greater wisdom in him to sell such Heterodox People for slaves that he takes by force, than to burn them.

But in the Year before that Book of *Erasmus* was printed, I find in *Magerus* his *Advocatia Armata*, *Laurent. Surius in Comment. rer. in orbe gestar. ad annum 1529*, cited for the *Hungarians* throwing themselves on the protection of the Turk, rather then they would be deprived of their Right to chuse their King: and it seems under Popery in that Kingdom they had a greater kindness for the Turk then the Emperor of Germany.

And the great Observer *Thuanus* on the Year 1597 in his 3d Tome, discouraging how the Germans being under apprehensions of the Power of the Turk and of Spain at the same time, were thoughtfully weighing their danger, *Et Comparatione Alchorani cum inquisitione Hispaniensi facta, an potius cum Orientali quam occidentali Turco sibi rem esse velint*, thereupon saith, *& si quidem res merito suo, ac semoto omni affectu privato æstimeretur, haud dubium esse quin, optione data, orientalem eligant, quippe ut viribus præpollentem, sic victis tolerabiliorem saturum, &c.*

Dr. Heylin likewise seems to favour that opinion for in his *Geography in Folio*, he saith, *The Turks compel no man to abjure the faith in which he was born. I have heard many say that 'tis better for a man that would enjoy Liberty of Conscience, to live in the Countries professing Mahometanism than Papistry.*

And I think I have read it in the *Author of the Zealanders Choice*, that if he were to lay the Scene of his life any where with respect chiefly to the freedom of owning any Religious Sentiments, it should be either in *Amsterdam* or *Constantinople*.

As I was reading the other day in an old *Canonists Tractate of Heresy*, I found this Position asserted there, that *'tis unlawful for a Master of Requests to deliver a Petition for Mercy to be shown to a Heretic*: but then I occasionally thought of a more manly and god-like temper shinning in part of the *Alcoran*, as *Mr. Gregory* relates it in his *Opusc.* where he saith, *The Mahometans have another Lords Prayer called by them, the Prayer of Jesus the Son of Mary, and that endeth thus, And let not such an one bear rule over me that will have no mercy on me, for thy mercies sake, O thou most merciful.*

He who separates Mercy from Justice, is unjust to the very name of Justice, and robbeth it of the better half of its signification, leaving its Teeth and Claws, and taking away its Heart and Bowels.

Farchas the Indian and chief of the *Brachmans*, in *Philostratus*, is brought in finding fault with *Apollonius Tyaneus* and others of the *Greeks*, for that they confined and applied the word *δικαιοσύνη* to those only who do no wrong to

one another and telling them that they were in an error: for saith he among the chiefest Offices of Justice, χρηστότης & ἀγαθότης Bounty and Goodness, together with φιλανθρωπία, ought to be reckoned up. And δίκαιοι & χρηστοί, just and kind men are convertible terms in Aristophanes, and joyn'd both together in Plutarch; and Aristotle saith, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς Moderation or Clemency is δίκαιον δίκαιον πρὸς βέλτιον, a piece of Justice better then all Justice. And if a man would not wish his Soul, yet he would his Body among Heathens of that temper, or Mahometans, rather then such fiery Canonists.

There was one thing that I told the Gentleman, who was the Papist, in the Close of this Discourse that much surprized him, namely, that tho'e two Anti-Christis, the Turk and the Pope have sometimes held a good Correspondence together, and that the Pope has been a Pensioner to the Turk.

King James in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* doth in p. 74 mention how Alexander the 6th, took of Bajazet two hundred thousand Crowns to kill his Brother Gemen, or as some call him Sisimus whom he held Captive at Rome, and how he accepted of his Conditions to poyson the Man and had his pay.

King James voucheth for the History of this Fact Paul. Jovius, and Guicciardine, and Cuspinian. It was a vile Ministry to the Turk that that pretended Vicar of Christ then engaged in. King James mentions not there how that Popes predecessor, Innocent the 8th, was likewise Bajazets Pensioner in the same detestable Affair: for 'twas in his time that Sisimus having rebell'd against his Brother and retired to Rhodes, was brought to that Pope to whom Bajazet sent the Title of our blessed Saviours Cross in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as a present, and effectually obliged him to detain his Brother in Custody during his Pontificat: and that Pope had a yearly Pension of 40,000 Ducats from the Turk for the continuing his Brother a Prisoner; and it seems that Charles the 8th King of France, making War against Pope Alexander who was not able to resist him, the Pope was constrained to conclude a Peace, and one Condition was that he should set the Turks Brother at liberty. But then his Holiness being thereby to lose the said yearly Pension of 40,000 Ducats, received from the Turk the gracious offer of 20,0000 Crowns to cause Gemen or Zizimus to be poysoned, and so he was. These faults are particularly set down in Cyprian Valera of the *lives of the Popes*, writ in Spanish, and translated into English by John Golbourne, and printed at London, Anno 1600, Pag. 130, 131, 136. and many other Popish Writers accord herewith, and particularly Sabellius, Tome 2d, of his Works, *Ennead. 10. Book 9*, says that Bajazet promised that Pope, *Magnum auri vim si fratrem veneno tolleret*, and that *factum qui crederent eum veneno sublatum, fuisse; Alexandrum pontificem ejus consilii non ignarum*, p. 781. ib. King James in p. 74. of that *Apology* mentions another of Christs Vicars, namely, Alexander the 3d, that writ to the Soldan, that if he would live quietly he should by some slight, murder the Emperor, and to that end sent him the Emperors Picture.

That Emperor, King James, says was Frederick Barbarossa: and it seems to have been extraordinary ill nature, in that Pope Alexander after he had not without ridiculing that piece of Scripture, *Conculcabis leonem & draconem*, trampled on that Emperors neck, to write to the Pope to cut his Throat.

And that the Greek Church refusing to submit to the Pope was betrayed by him, to the Turk is a thing enough known, as it likewise is that the Pope has often effected it, that Arms raised in Christendom against the Turk, should be employed against Heretics. I believe there is none thinks that
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the Pope by all the Treasures that the Souls or Sins of any Christians yield him, could have hired the *Turk*, so far to have degenerated from Natural Conscience as to practice any base Art of killing the body of any of his Vassals, contrary to the Law of his *Prophet* or of the *Empire*: and I account nothing more ridiculous than to believe that the Grand *Seignior* doth employ for his Spies in the *European* World, a wretched sort of Mankind that appear within the Class of Monsters, and are call'd by the *Italian* and *German* Writers of Politics *Cingari* and by the *Spanish* *Hittani*, and the *French* *Egyptii*, and by our People *Gyphes*, and who are foolishly imagined by any to have come from *Egypt*, and more foolishly by *Reinkingk de Regim. Sæcul. & Eccles. lib. 2. class. 1. cap. 7. n. 10.* and the generality of the Grave Political Authors to be *exploratores & proditores qui Germanorum consilia & negotia Turcis produnt*, and he saith further, *nulla in imperio securitate gaudent, sed impune à quovis offendi possunt.*

Magerus de Advocatiâ armata p. 299. saith of them, *Nihil aliud sunt quam manipulus furum & colluvies pessima otiosorum & fraudulentorum hominum ex variis nationibus non ita remotis, sed vicinis collecta, qui extra civitates in agris, in triviis tentoria erigentes, prodicionibus, litrociniis & furtis, deceptionibus & permutationibus, atq; ex chiromantici oblectantes homines, iis fraudibus victum mendicant*: but renders them no *Commissaries* or *Spies* for the Grand *Seignior*, or *Correspondents* with his *Viser*, and saith, that *Nonnullorum magistratuum animos vana superstitio velut lethargia adeo invaserit, ut hoc hominum genus violare nefas putent, eosq; grassari & furari & subditis imponere passim impune sinunt.* And if not only *Magistrates* but private persons too spare them (for according to *Reinkingk* every man is a *Magistrate* against them) 'tis an *Judicium* that they are but inconsiderable Extravagants in the World: and 'tis therefore I think pity that our Learned Country-man *Brown* in his vulgar errors, where he shews the error of their being thought to come from *Egypt*, doth yet represent them as *Spies* employed by the Grand *Seignior*.

I shall here observe to your Lordship one thing that occurred to me not without sharp regret, and that is, that I read lately in the Works of *Crackanthorp*, one of the most learned men in *Oxford* in his time, and a most faithful Citer of Authors, the famous *Hofius* of the Church of *Rome* cited for a more intolerable Blasphemy against the holy *Jesus*, then any I remember in the *Alcoran*.

Crackanthorp arming his *Logick* against the errors of Popery doth in his Chapter, *De loco arguendi ab authoritate*, say, that, *ipsi primarii sacerdotes quos maxime ab errore immunes fecit Moyses Cathedra & promissio illa Dei (Math. 26. 65.) Ipsi indicabunt tibi judicii veritatem, illi inquam Christum blasphemasse, & reum mortis esse judicarunt. Pudeat vos Hosii vestri, cujus hæc sunt verba (Hof. lib. 2. Con. Brent. fol. 54.) Veritas indicii hic judicata, vera sententia hic pronuntiata fuit. Quænam illa? Reus est mortis. Hanc sententiam à spiritu sancto profectam esse non est dubium. O hominem sacrilegum & blasphemum! Ille ne Reus mortis, qui innocens & innoxius vitam dedit?*

But as inhumane as any Principles of *Papists* or *Mahumetans*, or any *Enthusiasts*, or as desperate as the very *Jesuites* beforementioned ones are supposeable to be, and as much as any of Mankind can strive to delude others by Implicit Faith, yet as it is in no mans power presently to believe what even his own, and much less what his Guides appetite would have him, notwithstanding any Ecclesiastical Association he may have professedly linked his Faith in; so no man can ensure the continuance of his Belief, or its holding for a Moment: and therefore the more absurd and inhu-

mane

mane any mens *Tenets* are, I shall expect them to be the less believed, and for the less time, and it is more then Holy Church can know that any one at all believes as it believes, how great soever the number that pretends so to do, appears.

Of all Papists not professing themselves bound to withdraw their Allegiance from Heretical Princes, and even from such as by a particular *Bull* were Excommunicated by the Pope, History affords many Examples, and particularly of the many *Loyal* Papists, who when the inheritable Right of the Crown of *France* was devolved on the King of *Navarre*, a Protestant, and as such Excommunicated, with their Lives and Fortunes asserted his Title to the Crown. Any of the Readers of *Thuanus* know that in *Book 93* 'tis related, how when many Papists would have debarred him from the *Succession*, and that the minds of those *qui in Castris erant*, were in that point variously affected, yet *Major & sanior pars sic existimabat nullam publicæ salutis spem superesse, nisi servato legitimæ successionis ordine*, and so were for *Harry* the 4th Right therein, and whom they believed was late reconciled to the King his Predecessor for that he did *per eum res administrare* as the *Historian's* words are, i. e. *Harry* the 4th a Protestant Successor, was *Primier Ministre* to *Harry* the 3^d a Papist.

And not only the Major part and the sober Party of the Popish Souldiery, (i. e. in *Thuanus* his words *sanior pars*) was loyally addicted to the Right of the Protestant Successor, but several of the Grandees of the Popish Clergy were so, and particularly the *Arch-Bishop*, whose Speech for that purpose *Thuanus* *Book 106*. sets down, wherein 'tis said, *Neque verò aut Regis personam, aut subditorum robur debilitatemque heic considerandum esse, quando Reges lege ad regnum vocantur. Neque exemplis doceri posse quicquid contrajactetur, in prisca lege populum Israeliticum ob Religionem regibus suis defecisse, &c. sed totum id Deo dijudicandum reliquisse, in cujus manibus regum corda sunt, quæ & ille pro arbitrio quo vult, inclinât. Quid in Christianâ Ecclesiâ? Nonne Christum generis humani redemptorem ejusq; beatissimam matrem nomina sua apud censuram, Augusto imperante, Gentilium sacris addito professos esse? Nonne Cæsari suo & Petri nomine tributum pendidisse? Quod verò de legibus civilibus & imperialibus constitut. offertur quibus Manichæi & Arriani à dignitatibus, magistratuum ac publicorum munerum participatione excluduntur, id intelligi de magistratibus inferioribus, non de principalibus, qui nisi cum excidio populorum & Reip. everfione jure suo privari non possunt, de quibus decernere ad solius Dei Omnipotentis Jurisdictionem pertinet.* The whole Speech is argumentative to that purpose out of the old and new Testament and Fathers, &c. and that Noble Loyalty of those Papists to a Protestant Successor met with a requital as to their Religion, and thereby I may say in the *Scripture* expression that they did at once heap both a Crown and Coals of Fire upon his head.

Any one may be rather apt to think me less sanguine (as I may say) in my belief of *Shame's* operating more and more among both Lay and Clerical *Roman* Catholics, and even among our Jesuited Protestants (I mean many of our Non-Conformists that have had languinary and disloyal Principles transfused into them by Jesuites,) to the making them out of love with such Principles, when he shall consider how the ingenious *Maimbourg* doth in the 6th *Book* of his *History of Calvinisme* reflect on the great *Calvin* for his opinion and practice relating to the punishment of Heretics with death, and instanceth in the Case of *Servetus* who was burn'd by the Magistrates of *Geneva* as an Heretick, on *Calvin's* instigating them so to deal with him, as *Maimbourg* tells us, and concludes his Historical Account of the *Parisian Massacre*, with the mention of the said opinion and practice

practice of Calvin, and doth with great Judgment and Candour thus observe, viz. *On a veu néanmoins de tout temps que le moyen le plus efficace quand l'heresie est déjà puissamment établie, n'estoient point les supplices, beaucoup moins la violence & le trop de Rigueur. Bien loin que le massacre qu'on fit à Paris & tant d'autres villes ait anéanti, ou du moins affoibli le Calvinisme, qu'au contraire il en devint plus enraciné, plus puissant & plus formidable, qu'au paravant. Les Huguenots ne voulurent plus se fier aux déclarations que l'on fit pour les rassurer, &c.*

Alsted in his *Chronology of Heresy* tells us that *Michael Servetus Hispanus docuit nullam esse in Deo realem generationem aut distinctionem*: and Calvin in his *Opuscula* saith of *Servetus*, *vel sola modestia potuisset vitam redimere*: but I believe the World will grow more modest then to burn men for immodesty: and 'tis most certain that as the World grows the nearer to its Period and growing more and more populous, that populousness will naturally tend to unite all Countries at home by preparing them to resist Invasion from abroad, and make the fantastical squandering away the Members of the Common-wealth more and more ridiculous and insensibly to grow out of fashion.

Thus 'twas with the increase of the People among the Jews and Turks, that the *Sicacious* Zealots among the former, and *Dervices* among the latter did gradually decrease, and at last insensibly grew obsolete.

And thus of old did *Draco's* Laws evaporate, *Aulus Gellius* tells us in his *Noctes Atticæ*, that *Draco Atheniensis vir bonus multaque esse prudentia existimatus est: jurisque divini & humani peritus fuit. Is Draco leges quibus Athenienses uterentur primus omnium tulit. In illis legibus furem cujuscunque modi furti supplicio capitis puniendum esse, & alia pleraque nimis severe censuit, sanxitque. Ejus igitur leges quoniam videbantur impendio acerbiores, non decreto jussuque, sed tacito illeteroque Atheniensium consensu obliterate sunt.* And this I believe would have been the fate of the *ficarious Morality* of the Jesuites although this present Pope had not exposed their Principles as he has done, and their *Consecratis manus Jehovah* be obsolete, how much soever many of them think to out-brave the Popes Decree, who I wonder that they are not so hardy to write to the Pope to revoke it, in the contemptuous Style of *Muribizan the Turk*, that when *Pius the 2d* published a *Bull* wherein he granted Indulgences to all them that would bear Arms against him, writ a Letter to his Holyness willing and requiring him to call in *his Epigrams* again, (as *Dr. Donne* relates it, citing the *Historiæ & alia impressa ante Alcoran. f. 99.*) and in the Style of *Casaubon* calling *Paul* the 5th Excommunication against the *Venetians*, *dirum carmen*, a cruel Lampoon.

Dr. Peter du Moulin in a Discourse of his, printed in the Year 1675. saith, that the Jesuites were then i. e. in the time of the late Usurpation, and are now the principal directors of the Consciences of the English Papists. And there was published in the Year 1662, a Pamphlet writ by a Person of no vulgar understanding, and who I suppose was a Papist, and the Title of it was *an expedient or a sure and easie way of reducing all Dissenters &c.* wherein the Author saith, of the Papists (meaning in England and Wales) there are 7 Parts of 10, Gentlemen and People of great Quality: and therefore since the Jesuites have formerly made the Pope infallible in his judgment of matter of Fact, and that the Pope hath thus de facto thrown that turpitude of their Principles (that one may call *lutum sanguine maceratum*) from his Court and even from that of the Roman Inquisition, and the *Sordes* whereof Gentlemen could never receive into the Cabinets of their mind without fear and shame, they must now either be ashamed of

their Jesuitical Guides, or of their Pope, and the more ingenious and modest sort of Jesuites will by natural instinct be more and more ashamed of such Principles, and be sometimes pale with fear, and sometimes red with the Die of Blushes, as they observe the World picqued with their Dishonour pronounce against them as the Pope their infallible *Censor* hath done, and the Jesuites see that the Principles are too hot for them to touch where there is an Inquisition and too foul where there is none.

According to that great Moral Observation of *Tertullian's*, *Omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura persudit*, all the fair-killing Principles of the Jesuites and particularly those refer'd to in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 30th, 32d Tenets in the *Pope's Decree*, must really appear foul, and as too foul play to be us'd in our populous *English* World.

Time was in the old Monastic days when the Popish Clerical Actors were so numerous on the Stage of the World and so rich, and the Spectators so few and so poor, that it was dangerous for these to hiss at them or not to applaud them, but 'tis now otherwise, and the Scene of Time is altered.

The Tables are turned since the Author of a Popish Book called, *The Right and Jurisdiction of the Prelate and the Prince*, imprinted with licence of Superiors, Anno Dom. 1617 was so hardy as in Chap. 15th, p. 269. having spoke of the Oath of Allegiance, to say, *The King after this Oath is no more secure than before, because the Catholicks who take this Oath against their Conscience, know that they are not bound to keep their Oath. Tea the Prince thereby bringeth himself into greater danger, for by so unwonted and odious an Oath so contrary to his Subjects Consciences, he cannot but make himself odious, and there having insinuated the great numbers of the Papists, to apply then very gravely to his Prince that saying of Cicero in his Offices, Multorum odiis nullæ opes, nullæ vires resistere queunt: and that Author further tells us out of Tully, quem metunt odierunt. Men hate whom they fear: and then doth like a grave Animal thus proceed very honestly telling us, And what security hath a Prince among them that hate him? when Subjects hate their Prince, they are discontented; when they are discontented they are desperate; when they are desperate, they care not for their own lives; when they care not for their own lives, let then the Prince fear his; for as Seneca saith, Qui suam vitam contemnit, tuæ dominus erit. He that contemneth his own life will be Master of thine. And from this Source proceeded the late Gun-powder Plot.*

But I believe not only fear but shame would divert Papists from writing at this rate at this time of day: and I look on it as either a Shame or infatuation in a Protestant writer, who in a Pamphlet whose haughty Title was *the Humble Remonstrance and Petition of English Protestants against English and Irish Papists, to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament*, and which was published not long after the discovery of the Popish Plot, when in p. 2. the Author saith of the Papists and the Plot, *Nor will the more impudent of them deny the thing in general, but much the contrary insulting to us with Tertullian's implevimus omnia against the old Pagans. We fill your Courts, your Armies, your Navies: it must take, you cannot avoid it, 'tis a just cause to extirpate Heresy root and branch.*

I believe there were no Papists so void of shame and sense as to speak then what this Author mentions.

The Bishop of *Winchester* in his Letter to the *Dutchess*, January the 24th. 1670. and since printed, speaking of those, who were averse from Popery or afraid of it, saith that, *their number did take in 99 parts of 100 in the whole Nation.* His Lordship was a very modest Calculator in making the number

ber of those who then *de facto* feared Popery to be no larger: and consequently according to the Rule of *quem metuant oderunt*, referred to by the Author of the *Prelate and the Prince*, the great number of those here who *hated* Popery was very visible, and made the *implevimus omnia* to be a very empty and ridiculous suggestion. But were the number of Papists much greater then any timid Protestants seem to make it, the great real encrease of Mankind, and mens being thereby preserved, must render the *turpitude* of the former Principles of Cruelty to be very shameful.

In the Style of the Heathen Morality 'twas usual to call any thing *turpe* that was not *honestum*, or honourable, or contrary to the generous nature of man, and therefore to brand with the name of *turpitude* many lawful Actions, for *Non omne quod licet honestum*: and thus what is unworthy of a Man or a Christian to do is often so called in the New Testament, and 'tis an error in any mens judgments or fancies to appropriate so much the meaning of that word to fleshly Lusts. The Devil is called an *unclean Spirit* in the *New Testament* though not supposeable to use bodily Lusts or to confine his temptations to them. The *filthiness of sin* is mentioned by St. Paul to Timothy, and St. James 1. 21. commands the *laying aside all filthiness, &c.*

A Sentence obtain'd from a Judge that was given by Bribery is said to be *lata per sordes*, and for the *turpitude* of such a judgment a Judge was long since brought to a shameful end in this Realm, and in his Enditement for Bribery 'twas said that he did *violare sacramentum Domini Regis*, and the reason thereof was, that the Oath of our Kings relating to the doing of Justice to their People, such corrupt Judges did by their injustice do violence to that Oath of our Monarchs: and in like manner all Kings generally being by their Coronation Oaths bound to protect and defend their People, I ask what King on earth can do it, if either an outrageous Pope or the General of the Jesuites shall secretly cause men to be killed by their Emisseries, and what Subject can any were enjoy the benefit of the *Tacit Paction* between him and the Law to the effect of *fac hoc & vives*, if he must hold his life by the Tenure of a Jesuites *Caprice*?

This Orders sycarious Principles must therefore be naturally as fatal to it as those of their *Calumny* beforementioned, and indeed this their affected Arbitrary Power over Hereticks lives is liable to the Battery of fear and shame from the other Papists; for if such believing the Justice of the Pope's Decree, shall speak ill of the *Jesuites* Contumacy, and on that account render that Society disobedient to Holy Church and scandalous to the same, will not *Tenet* the 30th condemned by the Pope, viz. *It is lawful for a Person of Honour to kill a man that intends to calumniate him if there is no other way to avoid that Reproach*, render the lives of such Papists forfeitable to the Jesuites Assassins: and again will it not render the Jesuites lives forfeitable by their own Principles to such Papists, and thus our Popish Layety and the *Jesuites* be in a State of War, instead of such Layety being amicable Disciples and bountiful Patrons to them?

Neither the Law of God or the Land do trust the punishment of Malefactors to private persons: but as *Tolosanus de Repub.* tells us, l. 13. c. 132. *Processum fuit judicialiter & sententiâ excommunicationis contra vermes radices segetum edentes in diocesi Curienti & constantienti*, (and he there sets down such a Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against those *animalcula*) so much more ought such *Locusts* tho now as to the Pope *they have no King*, (I allude to Solomon's words, *The Locusts have no Kings, yet go they forth in Bands*) and tho their Principles would eradicate the Lives of our Hereditary Kings and their Subjects to have the legal benefit of Judicial Proceedings; but

but the turpitude of such Principles and Practices as pollutes the Land with Blood, and may bring a Curse upon it, is likely to bring them many an extrajudicial Curse from the Popish and Protestant Populace; and if as Tully tells us in his *Offices*, that *there was a Law at Athens, that ordered publick Execrations against all that did, viam erranti non monstrare*, such Confessors as by insinuations put people out of the right way by vile irreligious casuistical Principles so fatal to Souls and Bodies, must naturally be anathematized by them.

Thus likewise by *shame* and *fear* in our populous *English* World must all Bloody and Rebellious Principles own'd by any Persons that assume the the name of Protestants be naturally hated: and if any are not ashamed or afraid to give just occasion of Jealousie concerning such Hostile Principles, being secretly harboured in their minds, others will be ashamed and afraid to keep them Company, and as if there were some speedy Judgment impending on those who conversed with them, according to that Proverb of the Jews, *Migrandum est ex eo loco in quo Rex non timetur*.

The last prefatory Paragraph before the Bishops Survey is, that the Heads and Preachers of the several Factions are such as had a great share in the late Rebellion.

Such men tho like the Trumpeter in *Alciat*, they made part of the fighters, and had been fairly dealt with by the *Amnesty* if they had not been permitted any more in their profession to have lifted up their voices like Trumpets again, or trusted to make any harangues to the People in publick, yet at the time of that Survey were very few, and are now generally as silent in the Region of the Dead as *Meroz* was when they curs'd him; and themselves are according to my Calculating Observation turn'd to Earth, whose Voices like Air in the wrong place made such Earthquakes in Church and State: and both fear and shame might teach them how in *bello non bis peccare*, if their being Experts of the inconveniences of War had not naturally excited in many an aversion to it; but with the surviving Experts there doth undoubtedly a *reminiscentia* (which Mr. *Hobbs* calls a *re-conning*) survive, how that the long Parliament had not formerly more fears and jealousies of Popery then of Presbytery, and of some of the Divines of that perswasion designing to trouble every Parish with a New Court-Christian, after the tremendous example in History of the Inquisition for Heretical Pravity being first committed to the Orders of the Dominican and Franciscan Fryars, and without any Tribunal, and which by their zeal in preaching they afterward obtain'd with a vengeance, and to the Scandal of Humane Nature; and how that that Parliament as Fuller observes in his *Church-History*, would not trust the Presbyters to carry the Keys of Excommunication at their Girdle, so that the Power thereof was not intrusted to them, but ultimately resolved into a Committee of eminent Persons of Parliament, in which Thomas Earl of Arundel was first named; and moreover how that England was then turned into such a common shore of Heretical Opinions that one of the most Learned of the Presbyterian Divines, Mr. James Cranford in a Sermon of his called *Hæreseomachria* preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at S. Pauls on February the 1st, 1645. and printed in the following Year, saith there in p. 47. *In eighty years there did not arise among us so many horrid opinions and blasphemous Heresies under Episcopacy (a Government decryed as Antichristian) as have risen in these few years since we have been without a Government.*

He had before in p. 5. said, *It is lamentable what success errors have had among our selves in these last 3 or 4 years of Ecclesiastical Anarchy and Confusion, whether we respect the numbers of Errors or of the erroneous.* Amsterdam, Poland,

Poland, Transylvania, Places most infamous for Heresies, are now righteous, if compared with England, London, which in so short a space have broach'd or entertain'd above 160 Errors, many of them damnable.

And therefore I do not wonder that in a Pamphlet called, *The exact Collection of the Debates in the House of Commons* in the last Parliament, one Member is there brought in, observing in his Speech concerning the *Dissenters*, that 'tis not probable that ever they will have a King of their opinion, nor yet a Parliament by the best discoveries they had made of their strength at the last Election. For according to the best Calculations that I can make, they could not bring in above 1. in 20.

The present Gentlemanly Temper appearing in the People of England, as to the not having Aversion or Resentments of Anger against any Mens persons or their Converse by reason of their asserting controvertible points that are capable of the name of Religion, must naturally make any ashamed to vex their patience and disturb their security by asserting Principles that really are *Irreligion*.

If any one did rake in the dust of Libraries for Names of obsolete Heresies to render the Papists or any else the fouler thereby, he would in effect but needlessly foul his own fingers; as for example, if any one should say the Papists have borrowed their Practice of extreme Unction from the *Valentinians* and *Heracleonites*, their Notion of the Orders and Quires of Angels from the *Archonticks*, the use and worshipping of Images from the *Carpocratians*, the praying to the *Virgin-Mary* from the *Colliridians*, the Veneration of the Cross from the *Armenians*, the Baptism by Women from *Marcion*, the Baptizing in an unknown Tongue from the *Marcofians*, and the voluntary Poverty and single Life of Priests from the *Apostolici*, the using of small Bells in Celebrating the Mysteries of Religion from the *Meletians*. Nor would any be much concern'd whether any old or new unheard of Hereticks communicated the Disease of these Notions to the weak minds of the erring, since it doth not infect Humane Society.

And there are several Traditions mentioned in some of the Ancient Fathers as Apostolical, which tho the Papists do not observe, yet the World would not make any angry Exclamations against them if it heard they did, as namely, the mixture of Milk and Honey given to them that are newly Baptized, the abstaining from washing a whole Week after, Oblations for the Birthday yearly, not to fast or kneel in Prayer or worshipping of God on the the Lords Day, nor between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, all which are mentioned in *Tertullian*. Nor would any be now angry with another that held either part of the Question, viz. If the *Hallelujah* may be sung in *Lent*?

The great Controversy about *Easter* that heretofore put all the World in a Rattle, and almost shook it to pieces, what a Toy is it self now reputed, insomuch that our latest Ascertainers here of the time of its Celebration seemed not to think it *tanti* to be awake when they were about it; and tho our lately having in our Almanacks two *Easters* in one year easily awakened the Non-Conformists, to take notice of it and to say, that therefore they could not give their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book intituled the Book of Common Prayer, &c. And tho thereupon a person of the *Royal Society* very profoundly knowing in all the Mathematical Sciences, and likewise in the knowledge of Theology and of the Canon Law, and the Ecclesiastical Law of England, hath published an infallible way of fixing *Easter* for ever (and that it may be no longer a Fugitive from the Rule of its Practice as it

Often is at present (nor dance away from it self, as I may say, in allusion to the vulgar error of the Suns dancing on *Easter day*) and fixing it so as perhaps none else could have done, nor possibly himself any other way; yet hath this great right done to that great day been by the generality of people not so much regarded as would an *Advice to a Painter*, or such like Composure have been.

Any one that would design to make another fermentation in the World by the terms of *Homo-ousios* and *Homoi-ousios* would no more effect it, than by the Criticks Controversy in *Boccaline*, whether *Consumptum* should be spelled with a *p* or no: to which purpose I heard one cite it out of *Luther*, that he said *anima mea odit terminum istum Homo-ousion*, tho yet he knew *Homo-ousios* was the right opinion and *Homoi-ousios* the wrong.

And that one word *Heresy* that hath produced such furious Tempests in the World that have torn up States and Kingdoms by the Roots, how is it now generally among men of ingenuity and wit here reduced to its quiet and primitive signification, viz. the taking of an opinion, or a private opinion without reference to truth or falshood, and to import nothing more of affront then when used by *Tully*, as *Non sum in eadem tecum hæresi*; *I am not of your opinion*: and the common Vogue of *Heretics* amounts to *opiniâtre*, and *Heresy* to *opiniâtrerie*: and as a Whirl-wind may be supposed to have blown some one thing into its place, as each other thing out of it, so have the Whirl-winds *Heresy* hath disturbed the World by, happened at last to blow its signification into its right and original State.

Our Courts Christian which in order to the *Salus animæ* might still prosecute Men for *Heresy*, as well as *Usury*, have given no *Heretics* or *Usurers*, any Cause of Complaint for molestation; tho yet in the Articles of *Visitacion* this is one, *is there any person a known or reputed Heretick or Schismatick*. But as in the Dioceses in the Country and even in the Cities there, the Church-wardens having not troubled themselves to know what *Animal a Heretick* is, so neither is our Layety in our Metropolis in the humour to mind the *Genus* and *Differentia* in the definition of a *Heretick*. Nor will they be ever likely to make any such Presentment as *Mr. Nath. Bacon* said in one of his printed *Discourses*, he hath seen, made formerly by some of *St. Mary Overies*, *Item we saine that John Stephens is a man we cannot well tell what to make of him, and that he hath Books we know not what they are*.

Our *English Genius* is so improved by the excellent temper and discourses of that breed of rational *Divines* our Church of *England* hath been blest with since the King's Restoration, that it generally abhors the thoughts of punishing a *Heretick* as such with death, as a severity that hath in it the turpitude of injustice and cruelty. And since the very Fathers and Schoolmen could never agree about the point who are formally *Hereticks* and that the acutest among them make the formality of *Heresy* to consist in *Pertinacy* or *Contumacy*, which are inward Acts of the Mind and which none but the *Scrutator renum* can know, it may well seem shameful for any to agree in punishing it with death.

What a shameful narrowness of mind was there in the *Divines* that governed our Church in the times of the late *Usurpation*, when those *Triers of Ministers* would allow none to have a Living or Cure of Souls that asserted the Tenets of *Arminius* in Religion, which yet carry a face of so much probability to be maintained, that a man who having used his utmost care in the investigation of truth therein asserts them, may claim it as his due by the purchase of Christs Blood, that when he is required to deliver his opinion about the same, his asserting it that way should not expose

pose him to punishment. And there is no Controverted Religious Speculative Point of that Nature wherein there is among Learned Men *probabilis causa litigandi* (and in some Cases too where it may touch too close upon our *Articles* and *Homilies*) in which liberty of differing in Judgment is here either prejudicial to their Interest or common Esteem. Thus tho all the *Reformed Churches* make the Pope to be *Antichrist*, and particularly our Church of *England* in its *Homilies* hath done so, our Famous Dr. *Hammond* adventured as he thought himself obliged in Conscience to publish it, that *Simon Magus* was the man.

The most judicious Comparers of times are sensible that there is now a more valuable *libera theologia* in *England* then was during the Usurpation: How glad would many of the Independent, and Presbyterian Divines then have been of the liberty to have taught their Flocks the Notions they then thought of importance as to the Divine Decrees, tho they had been allowed to have so done only in *Surplices*, or in Vests of *Indian* feathers, or any habits imaginable? The old way of arguing about speculative points in Religion with passion and loudness and being tedious therein, is grown out of use, and a Gentlemanly Candour in discourse of the same with that moderate temper that men use in debating natural Experiments has succeeded in its room, and 'tis accounted *Pedantry* for any one in good Company to pass for a *Victor* in Notions by having the last word, and seeming a *Baffler* in dispute. And the truth is, our *Divines* and the Lay *Literati* having since the King's Restoration been more addicted to the Study of real Learning then formerly, which requires quiet of thought in its pursuit, hath brought noise out of Request.

I need not again mention the Obligation our Land hath received from the *Royal Society*, in making so great a Plantation of real knowledge in it. 'Twas high time at last when the Kingdom was settled on its proper *Basis* to improve it with such strong and nervous knowledge, that would be like the *strong man* keeping *Possession* in mens understandings, during which either *Poperies* or *Presbyteries Kingdom of Darkness* cannot overthrow our *Quiet*.

There were in the Year 1599. reckoned in *Chriffendom* 2,25044 *Monasteries*, and from whence all the great Revenue there bestowed on men to think, sent not perhaps one Notion of real Learning into the World. But their professed business was to extinguish the light of Knowledge, and not to increase it, and that which they made their real Study was to find out Artifices to make Mankind sit still and quiet in the dark, and to invent torments and punishments for those that would not do so: and to ridicule those who pryed into nature and but looked toward *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*, by the Name of *Students* of the *black Art* and *Conjurers*, a humour that was not quite exterminated hence from the time of *Fryer Bacon* to my Lord *Bacon*: for our pious *Martyrologer* mentioning occasionally Dr. *Dee* the Mathematician, called him Dr. *Dee* the Conjuror.

Thus Almighty God tho the first thing he made for the World in general was external light, yet one of the last things he hath made or so much blessed the World with, is real Learnings intellectual Light, and even that whereby we so knowingly converse with his works of Nature: and so careless was Mankind in considering the frame of their own bodies, that Dr. *Henshaw* a late Ornament of the *Royal Society* hath truly observed it in his Book of *Fermentation*, That within the Compass of this last Century the knowledge of *Anatomy* hath been enriched by a full third part at least. Mankind was so busie in murdering one anothers bodies of old under the Notion of *Christians*, and afterward as *Hereticks*, that it had no leisure to dissect them,

them, and was wholly taken up by studying experiments of Cruelty equal to the making of live Anatomies of each other. And tho the Holy Jesus came into the World *not to destroy mens lives but to save them*, and for that purpose tho the Divine *Philanthropy* chose that time for his coming into the World when the *ἀνθρωποδωρία* was arrived at a greater height then ever before, yet by the depraved nature of man perverting and corrupting the use of Religion, the fantastick vile sacrificing of men hath since encreased.

In the *Infanticidium* of Herod's that was presently after the Birth of the Holy Child Jesus, *Samuel Siderocrates* saith, that there were slain of Infants of 2 years old and under that Age, 444000: and *Paulus Volzins* makes them to be a Million and 44 Thousand.

And afterward among the Heathens, he was accounted the *Magnus Apollo*, not who could find ways of saving, but destroying Christian men. No fewer than seven Books were writ by *Ulpian* to shew the several punishments that ought to be inflicted on Christians. And tho *Livy* saith of the Romans, *in hoc gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse penas*, yet *Tacitus* tells us of the Christians in the 15th Book of his *Annals*, *Primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Ea pereuntibus addita ludibria, aut ferarum tergis contexti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi aut flammandi, aut ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*

Several Authors relate it as a Decree of Nero's, *Quisquis Christianum se esse confitetur, is tanquam generis humani convictus hostis, sine ulteriori sui defensione, capite plectitor.*

Enough hath been already said to parallel the Cruelty of new Rome, with that of old toward the Heterodox: and how ingenious the *Virtuosi* of the *Inquisition* have been in finding out such torments for Heretics, as can multiply one death into a thousand, I with horror think of. How profound a submission and deference to the unaccountable Will of Heaven doth this Consideration require, namely, that Christs little Flock even in the Ark of his Church, is not only endangered by a deluge from without, but by one within, and that of its own blood, and that the Sheep of Christ appear to a common eye to be (as it were) made on purpose to feed the grievous Wolves that are entred in among them, and as it may be supposed that thousands of harmless Sheep were in the Ark of Noah employed to feed, perhaps about 20 pair of the hurtful Carnivorous Beasts: nay which is more, that Heaven should permit such great slaughters of its little Flock to feed the very vitiated fancies of the worst of men, as was before insinuated!

But who can without shame for depraved Mankind, and a heart inwardly bleeding, think of the result of the Popes Gift of America to the King of Spain, where so many Millions of the poor Natives having had no promulgation of the Law of Christianity, and were accountable to God only for the violation of the Law of Nature, were so unnaturally murdered by the Spaniards, that it would seem incredible that God having made of one blood all Nations (as 'tis said in the Scripture) and there being a natural Cognation between all Humane kind as the expression is in the Digests, they should depopulate that part of the World of a greater number of Souls than is now living in the flourishing Kingdom of France, if that Famous Spanish Bishop *Bartholomæus de las Casas* hath made a true Estimate of the Spanish Cruelty in the West-Indies, namely, that in about 45 years the Spaniards by several monstrous Cruelties put to death 20 Millions of Indians.

At this rate of murderous Mankinds thus outraging one another, the World would seem to be likely to end before it was (as I may say) to purpose begun, I mean the purpose of God Almighty.

But the thought of the shame of being outwitted by our Neighbour Nations, and the fear of being outdone by them in strength, populousness and riches, and our certain knowledge, (as was partly before hinted) that toward the latter end of the World by the growing populousness of Mankind, we must naturally and without any eye on prediction in Scripture more and more *hear of Wars and rumours of Wars*, and the shame of our encouraging a few Traders in *Contraband Religions* to hope they can ever destroy the Peace and Trade of the Kingdom again, must (supposing Heretics to be men) naturally make the former *Mode* of killing them appear not more barbarous then ridiculous.

Sir W. P. having in his excellent *Manuscript*, called *Verbum sapienti* made excellent Computations of the *wealth of the Kingdom*, and of the *value of the People*, and of the *several expences of the Kingdom* and of its *Revenues*, and in his last Chapter there considered *how to employ the People and with what great industry*, doth like a Noble Philosopher conclude it with these two Queries and their Answers, viz. *But when should we rest from this great industry ? I answer when we have certainly more Money than any of our Neighbour States, (tho never so little) both in Arithmetical and Geometrical Proportion (i. e. when we have more years Provision aforehand, and more present Effects.) What then should we busie our selves about ? I answer in ratiocinations upon the Works and Will of God, to be supported not only by the indolency, but also by the pleasure of the body, and not only by the tranquility but serenity of the mind, and this exercise is the natural end of man in this World, and that which best disposeth him for his Spiritual Happiness in that other which is to come. The motions of the mind being the quickest of all others afford most variety wherein is the very form and being of pleasure, and by how much the more we have of this pleasure, by so much the more we are capable of it, ad infinitum.*

And thanks be to Heaven we have no *Isthmus* in Nature to dig through, which yet by our many hands might be done. 'Tis but the removal of the *broken Fence and bowing Wall* of a Religion-Trade, which we can well look over and easily see through as now broken and bowing, and which is the more loath'd for having so long and so much debarred us from real Trade and real Knowledge, and too from real Religion, and this flowry Coast will be as free to the feet of us *Northern Heretics* so called, as 'tis now to our Eyes, and we through the effects of our populousness, and being necessitated to industry, be secured from any fear of sharing in a *Prophetick Calculation* that might be called, *The Burthen of the North*, made by a late Author of a *Discourse of Trade*, *That the French without the use of their Iron, will command all the Silver of the North and sweep it away thence by the over-balance of Trade.* But after all the *Souths* raillery on the North, they will find that the *Northern* half of the World hath more Earth, more Men, more Ships and Sea-men, more Stars, more day, and more light of the Gospel, and I may add, more good nature and frankness, more bodily strength and fewer Plagues, and Earth-quakes then the *Southern*. And where most people are 'tis no *Heresy* nor *Enthusiastic Prophecy*, to say that there will in time be most Trade: which appeared by *England's* not being afraid to throw the Die of War against both *France* and *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of the Royal Martyr.

As the over-balance of Trade is insensibly lost in any Country, it is likewise so regained, and in time will appear regain'd, and like health in the body of a man of strong Vitals after his being seized by and recovered from a *Chronical Disease*, and of the time of the beginning and ending of which by unforeseen Accidents, no shadow of a Dial or sound of a Clock could give the indication.

I shall assign an instance of this in our own Kingdom. The *Author of Britannia languens* calculates 2,50000 l. *per Annum* to have been formerly at a *Medium* for 76 years brought into *England* by the balance of its whole Trade in the World.

Committees of Parliament have worthily laboured in several *Sessions* to model and draw *Bills* for the making us wear our own Woollen Manufactures, and many who have writ *Books* and *Proposals* about Trade, have very honestly endeavoured to persuade us so to do. But as the saying is, *accidit in puncto*, &c. an Accident too low for our States-mens consideration, hath for several years caused *England* to gain more then it did by the aforesaid Balance of Trade, viz. the said 2,50000 l. at a *Medium* for 76 years; and this Accident is the general fashion of Womens wearing Crape. And because I have conversed with none who has observed the effect of this Accident, and which tho seeming small, is very momentous, and appears (as many things in Trade do) like great Weights hanging sometimes on small Wires, I shall divert your Lordship by Calculating *en passant* what *England* gains thereby, in such a way as the Nature of the thing will bear, and may passably serve to have it done in.

A pound of Wooll makes 15 yards of Crape. Each Female one with another may be supposed to wear about 10 yards of Crape in her Apparel. There are in *London* probably about 100,000 Females that wear Crape. It may be supposed that in all *England* and *Wales* there being ten times as many Females as in *London*, that one half of this proportion of the *London* Crape-wearers may wear Crape in the Country, viz. half a Million in all. It may be supposed therefore that the Crape-wearers one with another wearing ten yards a piece, that five Millions of Yards of Crape may be yearly worn in *England* and *Wales*, and that one pound of Wooll making fifteen yards of Crape will occasion the Consumption of a third part of a Million of Pounds weight of Wooll *per Annum*, viz. 333000 and 333 pounds weight of Wooll which (accounting fine Wooll such as makes Crape to be worth one Shilling *per Pound*) amounts to 16000 l. *Sterling*. The labour of the People in Manufacturing the same, amounts to about thirty times as much as the Wooll, viz. half a Million of Pounds *Sterling*: and this yearly gain *England* cannot miss of while the Women of the Court continue the fashion of wearing Crape, whom the Women of the City and Country will imitate in their garb.

If any shall think that the allowance of 10 yards to be yearly worn by each Female Crape-wearer may seem too much, he may consider that some Crape used by men about their Apparel, and the great quantity thereof employed in shrouding the Dead, pursuant to the late *Act* (and which but for the invention and use of the Manufacture of Crape, perhaps would not have been effectually put in Execution) may probably incline him to be of an opinion that *England* gains more vastly by this new Manufacture of Crape, then I have supposed.

The ridiculing humour of so many in the Age, may perhaps move them to think observations of this kind to be unimportant. But if any shall take a Prospect of the substantial and great wisdom of our Ancestors in our *Statute-Book*, he may find there 11 *Acts* of Parliament about *Thrums* and

Tarn,

Tarn, and many about *Fustians*, and 26 about *Worsted*, and *Worsted Weavers*, and another Statute of *Pouledavis*: but there is that of moment in my Account relating to *England's* Gain from *Crape*, that after 145 Statutes made to advance our *Wooll* and *Drapery* and *Dyers* and our *Woollen Manufactures*, so much decayed in spight of them all, this seeming poor little thing hath without any *Act of Parliament* enriched us.

And many are the Foundations of *Manufactures* laid in our *Country Cities*, and daily growing since the time that *Dr. Williams* Arch-Bishop of *Tork* in his Speech in the Parliament of 1640. in defence of the *Bishops* Votes observed, that *Tapsters*, *Brewers*, *Inn-keepers*, *Taylors* and *Shoo-makers* do integrate and make up the body of our *Country Cities* and *Incorporations*.

And tho the *Northern Heretics* are *crasso sub aere nati*, yet have they (as was said) compensative Advantages from nature, and as if nature meant them more then others for *Lords of the Sea* and *Navigation*, the *Pole of the Magnet* which seateth it self *North*; hath been observed to be always the most vigorous and strong *Pole* to all intents and purposes, and the *Magnetical Virtue* impressed on the *Earth* is there more strong likewise, I mean on the *Church Land* seized on from the *Papal* *Idlers* and *Burthens* of that *Earth* to support the necessary defence of the *State*, and therefore will necessarily attract mens *Iron* and their understandings with *Justice* to keep it. *Dr. Heylin* in his *Geography* in *Folio* tells us, that 'tis not so much the *Authority of Calvin*, or the *Malignant Zeal of Beza*, or the *impetuous Clamors of their Disciples* which made the *Episcopal Order* to grow out of *Credit*, as the *Avarice of some great Persons in Court and State*, who greedily gaped after the poor *Remnant of their Possessions*.

But tho nothing like an over-Balance of the *Clergy* in the wealth of the *Kingdom* ought to have sunk that *Order* and its *Revenue in England*, (where perhaps ten times as much is spent either on the *Law* or on *Physick* as is on the *Clergy*) it need not be wondered at, that in those *Countries of the North* where they are continually standing to their *Arms* at least of defence, and Calculating their *Provision for War*, that the *Lutheran Princes* (as *Heylin* saith) have divided the *Episcopal Function* from its *Revenue* assuming to themselves much of the latter, and sometime giving part thereof to their *Nobility*, with the *Title of Administrators* of such a *Bishoprick*, and of *super-intendent* to those who have there the *Pastoral Solitude*, and with some proportion of the *Revenue* for their maintenance not much exceeding what is usually received by *Calvinist Ministers*.

And if my *Lord Primate Bramhal* may pass for a good *Casuistical Judge* of the *Law of God*, who in p. 39. of his *just Vindication of the Church of England*, speaking of an excessive *Revenue of the Clergy* and their over-balancing the *Layety*, saith, *And if the excess be so exorbitant that it is absolutely and evidently destructive to the Constitution of the Commonwealth (it is lawful upon some Conditions and Cautions not necessary to be here inserted) to prune the superfluous Branches, and to reduce them to a right temper and æquilibrium for the preservation and well being of the whole Body Politick*, and if any *Credit* ought to be given to the Account of *Cardinal Pool* shewed to me within these few hours, relating to the over-Balance of the old *Ecclesiastick Revenue* here, after he had used all his own diligence and that of others to prepare a *Calculation of the same* for the *Pope*, and had sent 3 *Reams of Paper* of this to the *Pope* that are now in his *Archives*, and had acquainted the *Pope* therein, *That it was visible that had not the Church here fallen into the Shipwrack of its Revenues, the Ecclesiasticks had here in a short time insensibly rendred themselves Lords of the*

the whole Kingdom, and that there were more Colleges and Hospitals in England than in France, which exceeds England by two thirds both in Lands and Numbers of People, we may very well conclude that had any accidental force in Queen Mary's time renversed the alienation of the Church Lands, that force would not have long continued, and should any as wild Imaginers may suppose, happen for the future here, or perhaps in other Kingdoms of the North, those Lands would soon appear to all to have such a *Magnetical Vertue* as is in the *Globe* of the Earth, whereby as to its natural points it disposeth it self to the *Poles*, being so framed and ordered to those points that those parts which are now at the *Poles* would not naturally abide under the *Aequator*, nor *Green-land* remain in the place of *Magellanica*; and thus it may be said that if the whole Earth were violently removed, it would not forsake its Primitive Points nor pitch in the *East* or *West*, but very soon return to its *Polary* position again, and resemblingly in any new forced over-balance of those Church Lands, the very dull Earth's *Animus revertendi*, to the just libration of States and Kingdoms would soon be apparent; and neither the *Popes* moving the Earth, or even *Archimedes* his doing it would have been of any importance: and the Papal Pride elevating him to say with *Lucifer sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus Aquilonis*, *I will sit in the sides of the North* would soon be attended with the Exclamation of *How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning*, &c. and, *Is this the man that made the Earth to tremble?* France that I believe exceeded England by two thirds in the number of People in Queen Mary's time when Cardinal Pool made his Estimate thereof, did securely heretofore suffer great numbers of its People to be unemployed in it, as namely, the Beggars and others of the lower ranks, and through want of opportune means of subsisting at home to seek their Fortunes abroad, and that not as 'tis in the Case of so many *Scots* yearly leaving their Country, (the which perhaps is not able well to nourish more Inhabitants than it hath) but through the abovementioned want of encouragement to continue in that opulent and fertile Kingdom, a Kingdom that *Grotius* doth but right to, when in the Dedictory Epistle of his *De jure belli & pacis* to Lewis the just, having mentioned the Kingdom of Heaven, he saith, *which Kingdom only is better than yours*.

And 'tis no wonder if the *Ministers* and Counsellors of State there did not concern themselves to make rational Estimates of the growing Populoufness of the *Northern* Countries, and particularly of *England*, when nothing of that kind was perhaps so much as attempted here before the probable inferences of the *Obliervator* on the *Bills* of *Mortality* made about the same.

As to the former unconcernedness of *France* in preserving or encreasing the numbers of its People, there is an observation of Sir *Thomas Culpeper* Knight, in his *Discourse* about *Usury* where he saith, *France, tho so good a soyle lies half of it waste, the Natives even loathing their own Country, and burdening all the habitable World with their beggarly Colonies, one third of the Lacqueys and Valets in Europe being French Men*. Witness *Dr. Heylin* who tells us, that once at *Madrid* they banished them all as dangerous for their numbers, finding the French Servants in that Town alone to exceed *Thirty Thousand*, so just and natural is it for oppression to disarm it self.

But I have already mentioned it that the present Great *French* Monarch, not more renowned for his *Arma foris* then his *Conflium domi*, and his able Counsellors there, doth by Accurate Measures study the encrease of his People, and 'tis very remarkable that in the *Code Louÿs* which he published in *April*, 1667. he made some *Ordinances* with great care for the Re-

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gistring the *Christenings* and *Marriages* and *Burials* in each *Parish* in his *Realm*, as appears by *Title 20. Article 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.* therefrom *p. 107, to 112.* and with much more exactness than the *Bills of Mortality* in our *Metropolis* are ordered, and the which that Great Prince thought worthy to be enjoyed in his *Code of Laws*, having perhaps been informed by his Ministers that many Political Inferences as to the knowing the numbers of People and their encrease in any State are to be made from the *Bills of Mortality*, on the occasion of some such published about 3 years before by the *Observator* on the *Bills of Mortality in England*, and where tho many are apt to think that the *Registring* of the *Births* of People was first used and invented by *Cromwel*, in *Harry* the 8ths time; yet is the thing as old as the ancient times of the *Romans*, and among them introduced by *Servius Tullius*, who to ascertain the number of Births and Burials, ordered that when a Child was born, the Kindred of the Child should bring a piece of Money into the *Aerarium* of *Juno Lucina*, and so likewise in the *Exchequer* of *Venus libitina* when any died or came to Age. And this Custom being quite abolished, was revived by *Augustus Cæsar* at the Birth of Children as *Lips.* on *Tacit.* observes.

But what was worthy of the *French King's* providing for the stability of his *Throne*, he further ordered an exact *Registry* to be took of the numbers of his half Subjects, I mean the *Regulars* and *Seculars* by the following *Articles* there, namely, the 15th, 16th, 17th, in that Title.

Mr. Samuel Pepys that Great Treasurer of Naval and Maritime Knowledge, and of that great Variety of the Learning which we call *recondita eruditio*, having Communicated to me the sight of a Paper mentioning that in the whole Number of Men in the Realm of *Spain*, long since when by secret Survey, there were returned a 11 Hundred and 25 Thousand and 3 Hundred and 90 Men, (and which secret Survey I suppose was made some time before the Year 1588.) I observed that the number of the Regular and Secular Clergy was not included in that Survey.

But I think the numbring of the many Regulars there who (no doubt) so often say in their hearts, *Nos numerus sumus*, &c. had been of as much importance to the Government, as the numbering of the Lay-men, and for the number of which the *Code Lûis* hath as aforesaid so carefully provided, and thereby made the prudence of this *French Kings Code* outweigh *Justinian's*, and hath discovered to the World the acutenels of his understanding, to be not inferior to that of his Sword. And the Expences of the Crown being under the Government of this Monarch so very much greater than in his Fathers time, have necessarily occasioned such an exact knowledge of the Numbers and Wealth of his Realm, as hath provided him his strong *Sinews* for War.

Thuanus on the Year 1615. tells us how that *Lewis* the 13th, Having appointed some Persons to compute his Expences and Receipts for the Year 1614. That one and twenty Millions and fifty thousand Livres. i. e. (at 20d. a Livre) one Million, 7 Hundred, 54 Thousand, 66 Pounds Sterling, were issued out of the *Exchequer*, and that 17 Millions and 8 Hundred Thousand Livres, i. e. 1 Million, 4 Hundred, 83 Thousand, 3 Hundred 30 Pounds Sterling were brought into it, and so his Expences then exceeded his Receipts three Millions, seven Hundred Thousand Livres: i. e. 2 Hundred 70 Thousand 8 Hundred 33 l. Sterling: and beside those Receipts and Expences the *Historian* saith, that there were eighteen Millions of Livres Collected out of the Provinces i. e. 1 Million 5 Hundred 8 Thousand 3 Hundred Thirty Three Pounds Sterling; and which were distributed in them for the Pay of the Officers there employed for other Expences there. So that the Expences and Receipts of that Crown

since the Year 1614, were more then quadrupled in the Year 1673, of the which I mentioned the Total before and abstracted the same from a Paper that some Merchants gave in to the Loyal long Parliament, wherein the particular Sums accruing from the respective Generalities in France are set down, as likewise others are in *Klockins de arario* for another Year.

We have already found that it is not so many of our Peoples taking the name of this great and wise Monarch in vain, that will do our Business, or their wishing the Ocean of the Wealth of that Kingdom exhausted that will do it; and 'tis now visible to all that nothing can prevent its increase but the stopping up the Rivers of Money that run into that Sea, from our Countries and others for the Commodities and Manufactures of that Kingdom, that can only produce that effect, and which not so much our hatred of France, as love of our selves will necessitate us to produce, and which therefore must stop up the Rivers of Contributions, that from deluded or Enthusiastic People formerly ran into the Religion-Trade, and then the great Cry of *Templum Domini* get as little Wooll from the Kingdom as it hath brought to it, and the zeal of the very *Vox populi* drive such Buyers and Sellers and Money changers out of it that formerly made it a Den of Thieves: and indeed if it should be supposed that the Balance of solid Trade should continue for the future to be against us, to the proportion it has been estimated of late years, neither Papists nor Presbyterians would be able to maintain a double Clergy as now they do, I mean their own, and that by Law established.

'Tis fresh in Memory that the House of Commons, in the Kings long Parliament, ordered the Commissioners of the Customs to compute for them what Goods went hence to France in a year, and their value, and what in that time came from thence hither and their value, and that they computed that the value of those exported hence into France was about 1 hundred and 70 thousand Pounds, and the value of those imported here from France was about 1 Million and a half, beside 6 or 7 hundred thousand Pounds worth of Goods, they supposed were brought in by stealth as Silks, Embroideries, &c. at which rate 'tis possible we may have about a 3d part of the Current Money of England yearly carried into it: and indeed all our grave Laws against sending Money in Specie out of the Country when the Balance of Trade is against us, are but hedging in the Cuckow: and so we have by necessity of Nature the Prospect of a busie World before us, that we may recover that Balance on our side. And during that Conjunction of Business all the Nerves of our Minds must be extended to prevent our doom, from that forementioned Sentence of late so much in vogue, and which I have heard some men living falsely vouch'd for the Authors of, viz. *Res nolunt male administrari*; for it is in Tully, who I suppose had it from Aristotle, to whom Venerable Bede who died 949 years ago, refers in his *Axiomata Philosophica* printed at London in 12°, as the Author of it in the Margin of that Axiome, *entia nolunt male disponi*, quoting Aristotles *Metaphysics*. Among Bedes works 2d Tome p. 151. the Axiome is thus worded, *Nolunt entia male gubernari*. Men may ill Administer their understandings, as by Credulity, Supineness and the like, and they may think by the Artifice of Laws to pinion the wings of our riches from flying away, and as absurdly as Sylla would by an Edict be judged fair: but things meant by the word *entia* or *beings* will not be ill administred: and 'tis easier to fix Quick-silver then the being of our Silver here, if our importations preponderate. The gravity of our Laws can no more make it stay still here than the *Vox populi*, and the Almanacks can make a real Solstice, or the Sun at the time of the year they call the Solstice not to move forward in the Zodiack, as much as at any other times.

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The *Being* of Money in a populous Country that hath no competent Mines in it, depends on the *Being* of Trade, and the *Being* of the so many Millions of Mouths in our Realm, will necessitate the Millions of hands to work, and the growing dearth of Provisions, and cheapness of Wages will enforce men to work harder, and the *res parva labore* will not be ill administred, nor sacrificed to Idlers, nor false Gods as formerly find true Perfumes here, nor Metaphysical *Entities* or Notions rob men of useful Chymical *Essences*, or rob Kingdoms of their being defended, and enriched, by destroying the *Beings* or Lives of so many Men as Hereticks, and *Beings* that the Papacy endeavouring to administer ill, and by its enslaving men making *Personas res*, caused so many defections from it; nor that precious thing called time suffer it self to be ill administred by Presbyterians erecting ten thousand new *Tribunals*, or (as one may call them) Ecclesiastical Courts of *Pye-powder*, that is one in each of our Parishes, when as those men have been heard to complain of the Grievances Trade hath found from one Court-Christian in a Diocess: and the same necessity which did make our Manufacturing Peoples Appetite for their Daily Bread to be the *ingenii largitor*, or whet their Wits for the invention of Crape, may in all probability produce Manufactures of Hemp and Flax as considerable as that of Wooll hath been and is, which I think must naturally happen from the many *French* Protestants and others here lately planted, and a more important Linen Manufacture be here by them introduced, then was the woollen one set up by the *Dutch* Protestants, whom the Duke of *Alva's* Persecution brought hither: and which no *Act* of Parliament here or Projects of Work-houses would probably have effected, or necessity else have brought in among us in some Ages. And hence will a great improvement of our Land and Employment of our People probably happen by the sowing of Hemp and Flax, for which so much Money goes out yearly hence *in specie*, and the design of sowing which hath hitherto proved Abortive in several Parliaments, and particularly in one of the last Parliaments of Queen *Elizabeth*, and likewise in the King's long Parliament. Considering how easie it will be for those of the *French* Nation who are here, and who were used to make Canvas and Sail-cloth for our Naval uses, (and for which *France* hath long had so much Money from us) to make it here and by the Bait of the Gain thereby accruing, to engage several of our Poor to work in that Manufacture, our Nation is not likely to be long without it here advanced, and many of our People therein busied: and 'twill easily appear necessary to all to promote the making the same here, who shall recollect that the *French* King in that last War with him did forbid the importing it hither. And that coarser Manufacture once introduced will naturally make way for the Manufacture of fine Linen, and those Manufactures found generally gainful will naturally employ the Proprietors of Land in sowing great part of the same with Hemp and Flax, and our good Land hereby retrieving its former value of years purchase, be no longer ill administred.

I believe therefore that if shortly the *Curious* abroad shall send to their knowing *Correspondents* here for a Political Map, or Scheme of our Affairs, and ask what is become of the fantastick *Utopias*, *Oceanas*, and new *Atlantis's* that our late *Visionaries* and idle *Santerers* to a pretended new *Jerusalem* troubled *England* with, and shall further send hither to their friends that old Question, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia*, The Return they will receive from *England* will be to the following effect, viz. That People in that Noble and very Populous Country do there mind things, that the Trade of words is spoiled, that the business of sowing Tares is over, and that
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he will be the inimicus homo to himself who doth it ; that the sowing the Wind of Errors in the Church, and the reaping the Whirl-wind of Confusion in the State is grown hateful: that they have done weaving of jus Divinum, and dying of Religion with false Colours, and preparing Nets and Snares of death for one another: and that the most ungovernable Animals troubling others with Projects of Government of the Church is out of fashion; that they have done there with Science falsely so called, and quæ non habet amicum nisi ignorantem, and with Trade falsely so called, the false Religion-one that hath no friend but the knave; that their eyes are there opened and they see, that res accendunt lumina rebus, and their hands are at work in Trade and Lucre without turpitude; that they can no more be brought like St. Francis his Novice to set Plants with the head downward, nor at the instigation of factious Heads of Religious Parties, to do with their Notions as Fryar John at his Abbots Command, did with a dry withered stick which he planted, and twice a day for a whole year fetched water two Miles off to water it, and omitting it no Festival day; that they speak more of Christ and talk less of Anti-Christ, and do promote Christianity by solid Industry and Charity; and the living there are Apparel'd with their own Linen as the Dead are with their own Wooll, and are grown so dexterous in the Linen Trade that it may be said of them what Klockius doth of the Dutch, 'tis to be doubted, plusne in lanificio an vero in linificio illi præstent; and thus by means of a true and undefiled and laborious Religion there, Antichristus lino periit, as I may say with Allusion to a forementioned Prophecy. The Genius and Interest that England hath in several Conjunctions been intent on devouring the Religion-Trade (and which still hath slip'd from its seisure) hath now at last effectually swallowed it up: and just as a Cormorant swallowing an Eel, and the Eel slipping out through its Body, is soon by that potent Creature again swallowed, and again slipping through its Body, is at last certainly macerated and dissolv'd in its Stomach, and still the Cormorant hath weakened the Eel in its passage through it, thus hath it in England fared with the Religion-Trade: that as Luther said of one great point in Religion, it was doctrina stantis & cadentis Ecclesiæ, the Notion of the not getting or losing by Religion there, is accounted the Doctrina stantis & cadentis Reipublicæ. That time hath laid so close and long a Siege to the Popish and Presbyterian Religion-Trade, that as it was in the Siege of Ostend, there is no more Earth left it to defend. That as Physicians observe of superfetation in Women, if it be made with considerable intermission, the latter most commonly proves Abortive, for that the first being confirmed engrosseth the Aliment from the other, it hath happened so in England to the superfetation of Reformation. That the Trade of Reformation unduely prosecuted by Art, hath been diverted by the Reformation of Trade resulting from Nature, and the over spreading the Land with such a great and useful Linen-Trade and Materials for the same, as hath in a manner exterminated Poverty from the same.

And while now Nature seems to Court our Expectation with the probability of this new Scheme of Trade, and Manufacture, (and which perhaps will stay with us till the Scheme or fashion of this World shall finally pass away) I shall take occasion to discharge my self of a promise I long ago made to your Lordship, when you were Treasurer of the Navy, which was to send you an account of the rough Hemp and Flax, and Sail-Cloth, and of all the other Manufactures of Hemp and Flax, imported into England yearly: and now that it may appear what quantities of Hemp and Flax, and the Manufactures thereof have been here imported, and from what Countries, and that thereby we may usefully take our measures about the proportion, to which this new Trade and improvement of
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our Land should at least be advanced, and because likewise the former measures of computing what *Sail-Cloth* and *fine Linen* have been here imported, were taken generally from blundering Estimates and random Calculations, and that we may see it possible, tho *France* hath got the start of us in the *Linen Manufacture*, that we may yet overtake it in the Race, for that 'tis apparent tho much *Sail-Cloth*, yet little or no *fine Linen* hath thence come to us, I shall here entertain your Lordship with an *Account* of the *Linen-Cloth*, *Canvas*, *Linen Tarn*, *Hemp*, *Flax* and *Cordage* imported into the Port of *Landon*, from *Michaelmas* 1668. to *Michaelmas* 1669. which was drawn up for me by the favour of one of the late Farmers of the Customs. I happened to make choice of that year for the quantity of those importations, as being a year of Peace, but was since told by the Merchants that that year being the second after the Fire of *London*, there was then imported into *London* about a 3^d part less of those Commodities than was in common years; the which happened because the year before being the next after the Fire, an extraordinary glut of those Goods was then brought in.

Your Lordship thereby seeing what then came into the Port of *London*, will in effect see what came into the whole Kingdom, the *Out-Ports* bearing a proportion of a 3^d to that of *London*: and by finding that we have so much *Hemp* from the *East Countries* now we are put to it to go to Market there with ready Money instead of our woollen Manufactures as formerly, (as we likewise do for our *Pitch* and *Tar*, and *Masts*) find that we are more closely concerned in point of interest, to have our *Hemp* provided at home.

And it will appear high time for us to begin somewhat like a *Linen Manufacture*, when a running view of this Account presents us with so great a quantity of old Sheets imported from *Holland* and *France* (tho perhaps designed by us for our *Plantations*) and of *Linen Tarn* and some *Linen* from *Scotland*: and since in that year by an Abstract of the exportations of *Ireland* I have seen, that Country so long unsettled, had yet so much *Linnen Tarn* and *Linen Cloth* for its own use, that 522 pieces of *Linen Cloth* of 40 Ells in a Piece, and 4 Thousand 6 Hundred, and 25 Hundred weight of *Linen Yarn* then were thence exported.

The *Account* I mentioned is as followeth, viz.

State	County	Tract	Acres	Owner	Remarks	Value	Assessment	Notes
Ala.	Chilton	1	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	2	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	3	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	4	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	5	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	6	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	7	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	8	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	9	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	10	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	11	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	12	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	13	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	14	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	15	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	16	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	17	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	18	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	19	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	20	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	21	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	22	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	23	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	24	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	25	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	26	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	27	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	28	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	29	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	30	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	31	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	32	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	33	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	34	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	35	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	36	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	37	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	38	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	39	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	40	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	41	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	42	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	43	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	44	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	45	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	46	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	52	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	54	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	55	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	56	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	57	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	58	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	59	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	60	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	64	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	66	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	67	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	68	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	69	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	74	100	J. H. Smith				
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Ala.	Chilton	80	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	81	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	82	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	83	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	84	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	85	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	86	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	87	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	88	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	89	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	90	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	91	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	92	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	93	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	94	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	95	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	96	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	97	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	98	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	99	100	J. H. Smith				
Ala.	Chilton	100	100	J. H. Smith				

This is a list of the land owned by J. H. Smith in Chilton County, Alabama. The land is divided into 100 tracts, each containing 100 acres. The land is located in the following sections of the county:

That little sowing of Hemp and Flax here that hath been, hath already met with as much encouragement as this comes to, namely, that 'tis all bought up by the years end: and in our way to the Manufactures of Hemp, the above Account doth so far encourage us as to let us see that almost all our Cordage is made in *England*; and since by some Accounts I have seen of the Importations in *Amsterdam*, almost as much Hemp and Flax is there brought in yearly as into the whole Kingdom of *England*; the necessity that will be driving us on to the Linen Manufacture, will be accompanied with this comfortable Consideration, that as 'tis possible for us to overtake *France* therein, so we may *Holland* (at least in the making of Sail-Cloth) in regard we may if we will have as much Hemp and Flax growing in our own Soil as they send for to *Riga* and elsewhere abroad.

The *French* Protestants at *Ipswich* have lately made finer Linen than ever was made in *England*, namely, of 155. the *Ell*: and for which tho they had their Linen Yarn from *France*, yet afterward they sowed Flax near *Ipswich* whereof to make Yarn; and it was observed to grow so high, that the People resorted from all parts adjacent of the Country to see it, they having never seen any so high before.

A Judgment so penetrating as your Lordships will easily find how the said Account may be many ways useful to the publick in point of Trade, as for example, the Consideration is obvious that those Countries we receive no Hemp or Flax or their Manufactures from, we may profitably in the way of Traffick hereafter carry them to, and by that means know our proper Markets, as particularly *Spain*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, &c.

That great Bankruptcy in *London* that hath thence like a Plague infected so many of our Country Traders, and laid there too so much Land in some sort desolate, will by natural necessity oblige them to countenance this improvement of the Realm by new Commodities and Manufactures: and that which hath in many of our poor *Idlers*, Created such an Aversion from the sowing of *Hemp* and *Flax*, namely, the toyle of beating the same, will soon cease by the acquainting them with the Invention of a *Mill* near a *Rivolet* by which as much Hemp may be beaten in a day as can be by two hundred men: and they who have been incessant in complaining of others being *French* Pensioners, and thought themselves slighted because they were not so, shall by the Protestants of that Nation thus leading us by the hand to a rich Manufacture, find *France* to have thus sent Donatives to our whole Land. And from the example of their innate Loyalty to their Hereditary Monarch, and thankfulness to ours for their protection, I doubt not but many of our Malecontents will imbibe principles of obedience to Government and a sense of their safety under that *Asylum*: and such persons whatever their pretensions are, will deserve ill of the Kingdom and its Trade and Manufacture, who by their excessive Complaints of the danger of Popery and of the *Fantome* of that pretended Religion frightening us out of our Laws, shall really deter more such Protestant Strangers from planting among us. But as men may be said to be deterred by shame from fearing any thing in throngs, and where they are secure from robbery, and can suffer only by petty Larceny, so I believe will this populous State of our Country insensibly wear off the excess of our fears; and do expect such a future State in *England* as will make men ashamed of their past fears, and their former deference to ill boding *Prophets*.

Gassendus in his Works tells us, that all the *Astrologers* of *France* concluded, that by reason of the great Conjunction of watry signs in *Piscis* and *Aquarius*

in the Year 1524, that there should then be another deluge in that Realm, and in Germany, in the Month of February, a rainy Month, and that many of the People thereupon went with their Goods and Cattel from the Low Lands to the hilly Country, and yet that Month proved the driest Month that ever was known; and thus do I expect that many of our Melancholy Prophets in England will be *totæ caele*, mistaken in their auguries. And if natural Considerations did not induce me thus to foretel good to my Country, another Consideration might tempt me to predict ill, namely, the warding off all the risque of a false Prophet: for among the Jews if a man prophesied of future ill to a Person or State, and it came not to pass, he was not therefore pronounced a false Prophet, by reason of the infinite goodness often inclining the Divine Nature to avert its threatned Anger; but if he prophesied of good Success, and it happened not, he was then reputed a false Prophet, for that. (*they said*) Heaven never cancelled a Decree of Mercy.

Considering how often things at random predicted have come to pass, and tho like Seeds carelessly thrown into the Field of Time have yet grown up, and how many even of the higher *Class* of understandings, have been tempted to believe the predictions of the illiterate, and that such could read the Book of Fate who yet could read no other (as appeared by Sir Thomas Moore and Bishop Fisher being tainted with some belief of the holy Maid of Kent's Sayings, or at least seeming so to be) and that the prediction of things as I partly, before hinted may help as a Natural Cause to give them Birth, I wishing so well to my Country and its Religion by Law Established, have however adventured from Natural Causes to give my judgment for the future State thereof as I have done, not despairing of its influences on some present Despairers.

And moreover the *Glass of Magna nomina*, who have faulter'd in their measures of Prophecy, is so great that an obscure mistaken person may well hope to hide himself among them.

Father Parsons alias Doleman, in his Book of the Succession, doth p. 258. give his final Conjecture of the great future Event of the Succession after the death of Queen Elizabeth, saying, *My opinion is that this Affair cannot possibly be ended by any possibility moral without some War at leastwise for sometime at the beginning*, and gives his reasons for that his opinion. And how all our hot Apocalyptick Men and Teazers of Anti-Christ have erred in the times of the great Changes they have predicted in the World, is obvious: and therefore the most sagacious of that sort of Expositors, have made the things they have foretold to be far distant in time, and before which they knew they should long be in the number of *Non entes doctores*, as one calls the Schoolmen: and thus likewise the ingenious Author of the *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, printed in London 1667, doth p. 23. say, that *Before five hundred years we may be all transplanted from hence into America, these Countries being over-run with Turks and made wast as the Seats of the famous Eastern Empires at this day*.

Mr. Herbert, our pious Vates, made Religion standing a tiptoe to take its flight thither many years ago. And the ingenious Author of the *Zelanders Choice* hath therein told us that the French would never part with *Utrecht*, and that our King's Declaration of Indulgence would never be recalled; but the contrary happened in both Cases, and the Vote of the House of Commons in order to his Majesties recalling the latter, was carried by the Party there favouring the Nonconformists, and could not have been without them, which that Author did not foresee, and that those Nonconformists would be well neither full nor fasting, and therefore their reflections on the King's Ministers

Ministers for denying Indulgence to them since, ought to be very gentle.

Mr. Fox in his *Martyrology* in one *Volume* p. 694. gives us this conjectural prediction that the Turk will seize *Rome*, and founds one of his reasons for it on the 18 *Ch.* of the *Rev.* and that he shall consume it with fire, and Ribera the *Jesuite* in *Chap.* 14th of the *Rev.* saith, *Romam igitur non tantum propter priora peccata conflagratarum esse magno incendio, sed etiam propter illa quæ extremis illis temporibus commissura est ex hujus Apocalypsis verbis adeo perspicue cognoscimus, ut ne Stultissimus quidem negare possit.* Neither Mr. Fox nor the *Jesuite* name any particular time when *Rome* shall be consumed with Fire: but many whose Enthusiastic fancies have played with the fire of *Rome*, adventured to lay the Scene of its ruine in the Year 1666: and to assert this, a Latin Book was professedly writ and called, *Romæ ruina finalis Anno Dom. 1666.* and printed in London in the Year 1663. in the Title whereof 'tis said, that *Rome* shall be incendio delenda; in the Year 1666.

And no doubt our many Prophetic Writers that read that Sentence as from Gods Tribunal, that *Rome* shall be destroyed that year; angered the Conclave there; and they might well think that to such hot heads there belonged incendiary hands; and accordingly as it was before cited out of the Pamphlet called, *The Arts and pernicious designs of Rome, wherein is shewn what are the Aims of the Jesuites, &c.* the Author makes the Conflagration of London (in case it were a practice of Humane Contrivance) to have been caused by *Rome* and the Consistory there, and the *Jesuites* as being willing to signalize that year of 666, with some remarkable mischief done to Protestants in check to the fancies of some that predicted *Romes* utter destruction then, 'tis possible that they might grant against our City the reprisal of performances for our Prophecies against theirs: which if they did was a Revenge very disproportionate; for according to that rule of the Pharisees revenge, namely, an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth, they should only have equipped Airy Prophecies against us, and not Fire-ships; and by a little obvious Art have hounded the number of the Beast 666 upon us. And though I am sufficiently convinced by the Quotations out of the Canon Law, and the Canonists referred to in *Gundissalvus* that the Tenet of burning whole Cities if the Majority thereof are Hereticks, is chargeable on the Church of *Rome* as approved by it, and tho the Lord Chancellor and two Houses of Commons, and the Magistrates of London have given their judgment of the Causers of that Fire as aforesaid, and tho one of our great Divines and whose Name all Protestants in our Land must mention with great honour, Dr. William Lloyd Dean of Bangor, hath in his Funeral Sermon of Sir Edmund Godfrey p. 38. speaking of the incredible patience found in the Citizens of London at the time of its Conflagration, as an effect of the Protestant Religion, further said, *Tho so many believed and very few much doubted whence it came, that it was from the same hands which we justly suspect for this wickedness* (meaning the Murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey) yet was there no Tumult rose upon it, no violence done that extended to the life of any Person, yet shall I never without the knowledge of convincing proofs of such a Fact projected, or modelled by some in Authority in the Church of *Rome*, and the Spiritual Guides of our Lay-Papists, charge the Odium of the Fact on more of them than make the least of numbers; nor yet the allowance of this Tenet on the generality of Papists here at home, or abroad in the World, and would say that as infallible as the Pope was, he knew not what spirit he was of, when he thus in his Law called for fire on Heretical Cities; I allude to our Saviour's words to the Disciples that importun'd

importun'd him to call for Fire from Heaven to burn the *Samaritans*.

I know the *Roman Catholick* Author of the forementioned Pamphlet, called the *Arts of Rome*, &c. in the *Epistle* of it, saith of the *Jesuites* and *Fryars*, that *what they hold lawful to be done, they may be justly presumed to do whensoever opportunity serves, and that they see it conducive to their Interest to do it*. Thus likewise *Judges of Ecclesiastical Courts* when the consideration of the Nullity of a Marriage by reason of fear resulting from *threatnings* is before them, do carefully regard this point concerning the *Menacer*, *an solutus est minas exequi*, a thing the *Jesuites* have not been wanting to do, when Power and Opportunity have not been wanting: and there is no doubt but the *Jesuites* by reason of their 4th *Vow* to the Pope, over and above the Implicit Obedience they have sworn to their Superiors, are to execute whatever he shall command: nor is it doubtable but that when it is said by the *Canonists* that the Pope hath power to burn Heretical Cities, he will reduce that Power into Act when he sees convenient; and as *Dr. Donne* in his *Pseudo Martyr* well notes, *the Lawyers teach us that the word potest doth osiem significare actum*: for which he quotes *Battolus* on the *Digests*.

I believe the truth of his Computation where he saith in p. 228 of that Book, *That the Jesuites are in possession of most of the Papists hearts in England*, but I likewise believe his other Computation in that Book, where in p. 127. he saith, quoting *Rebadenira*, *that in the Year 1608. the whole number of the Society of the Jesuites were 10581.* and that tho their number is much encreased since, there are not so many in *England* as were when the Book was printed, viz. *Anno 1610.* and the *Dr.* whose Style was as the *Oxford Antiquities* say of *Mr. Foxes*, *in Romanenses satis acerbis*, (tho I think neither of their Styles was so a jot too much) doth in *Chap. 10th* of that Book, very learnedly and largely shew that many Eminent and Popish Writers have bitterly inveighed against *Gratian* the Compiler of the *Decretum* of the Canon Law.

No doubt that Law was never *in gross* received in *England*, in the times of our Popish Ancestors, and so neither did nor doth bind *English* Papists in the Court of Conscience, more than the Council of *Trent* doth in some Popish Countries where it never was received: and I find *Bellarmino* cited by the *Dr.* for saying, that *there are many things in the Decretal Epistles which do not make a matter to be de fide, but only do declare what the opinions of the Popes were in such cases.*

I believe that no *un-jesuited* Papist (nor perhaps some sober Party in that Order) will think the worse of me for calling the *Decretum* of the Popes Canon Law, by reason of its empowering him thus to burn Cities, *horrendum Decretum*: and it may perhaps appear ridiculous as well as horrid in the Pope in that Law, to rake in the Ashes of sweet *St. Cyprian* for fire to burn Heretical Towns, and to make him, who was in a manner Excommunicated by the Pope for rebaptizing such as were baptized by Hereticks, to be the Founder of that wild *Tenet* of converting guiltless Lime, and Brick and Timber to rubbish, because they had afforded dwelling places to People, that differed in judgment from *Rome*: and to make him, who in the Year 258. was a Martyr for not being an *Idolater*, to be the Author of burning Cities, that would not adore the Host.

But moreover it may be said that in the *Decrets* made by the Pope to *Apt* the *Pandects*, and to consist chiefly of *Canons* of *Councils*, sayings of *Fathers*, and *Constitutions* of *Popes* as the *Pandects* do of the *responsa prudentum*, &c. *Gratian's* founding a *Tenet* on *Cyprian*, or any places out of other Authors,

Authors, giveth it only the weight that *Cyprian* and they had in their proper works : and the Stream of Authority from their Writings in *Gratian* is not to be supposed able to rise higher than the Spring : and thus the *Canonists* agree on this as a Rule, that the things quoted in *Gratian*, *Vim legis habent quatenus reperiuntur illic unde deprompta sunt* : and they tell us, that if any things that are said to be *impia, hiulca, barbara, sine ratione, falsa fideique Historicae adversa*, are found there, they are to be passed by as *Gratian Dreams*, *ut nec confirmatio Pontificum generalis ad ea sese extendere possit*. And on this Account his Glossographer *Andreas*, himself doth often turn his gloss into an Animadversion on his Master (for that name he bestows on *Gratian*) and saith sometimes, *Magister hic non tenetur* (meaning *Observatur*) and sometimes *Superficialis est magistri argumentatio*, and elsewhere with a strain of *Russianism*, *fateor te plane mentitum Gratiane*.

And if any one will read *Pere Veron's* Book of the Rule of Catholick Faith, Dedicated to the Lords of the Assembly general of the Clergy sitting at Paris in the Year 1645. he will find, he saith, as for *Gratian's* Decrees, and the Gloss, they can claim nothing of Faith, the Author being a particular Doctor and Subject to many mistakes even in the Citation of Authors, nor doth he pretend to any such thing : much less weight hath the Gloss than the Decrees, where many silly and ridiculous passages are discovered. As for the Papal Decrees contained in the body of the Canon Law, or published since, none of them do constitute an Article of Faith, &c. *Bellarmino* makes no difficulty to acknowledge Errors in several of them : as for example, where the Canon out of *Gratian* is objected, *quod proposuisti, extracted out of Gregory the 3d*, where 'tis said, that if a Woman should be sick and by that means unable to render her duty to her Husband, the Husband if he have not the gift of continency may take another Wife : he replies thus, that the Pope sailed through ignorance, which we do not deny may happen to Popes, when they do not properly define but only declare their opinions, as *Gregory* seems here to have done.

And no doubt but every Papist laughs at the definition of a Whore in the Decrets, i.e. *Quæ multorum libidini patet*, and at the gloss there making by *multorum* to be meant 23000.

My Lord, I discoursed frankly of all these last mentioned matters to my Roman Catholick Friend, who (I said) would joyn Issue in the Plea about Religion, if the Pope's Power of firing Heretical Cities, were a Tenet chargeable on the Church of Rome, and have perhaps said as much to throw off the Obligation on any Papists to obey the Pope or his Canon Law, in the infliction of such dire Vengeance on whole Cities, as they would wish said, and do think my self indispensably obliged when I discourse with any of Mankind about any *Quæsitum* relating to natural truth, and much more to Theological, with all possible candour to say what the matter will fairly bear on both sides, as accounting any mans Judgment given *ex parte* to be of little or no value, and esteeming him a *falsarius*, who conceals any thing of truth.

But this Gentleman being a close pursuer of truth told me, he knew well enough that the Canon Law did not as such bind all Papists in *foro conscientie*, but he would stay in no Church that he should find to be built in any *Akeldama*, or Field of Blood, that is, a Church that approved of Tenets destructive of Civil Societies, or condemned not Tenets that where any other Religion than the Popes was, would Condemn men like *Nebuchadnezzor* to grasping and to solitude, or if they would live in Towns or Cities, make them live there in Houses under Ground, as Dr. Browne in his Travels saith, *He saw some Towns in the Turkish Dominions where Christians so lived*

like the Troglodytes, and subterraneous Nations about Egypt, and which might be occasioned by many Armies marching that way and burning of Towns en passant; and that till the Pope disclaimed this power, and damned such Tenet in his Canon Law, that hung up there a Light conspicuous to the World, for the lawful kindling of the Torches that should set fire to Heretical Cities, such Cities as he called Heretical would be in fear of their being incendio delendæ; and that in the mean time the Jesuites, who assert the plenitude of his power, would implicitly obey his Commands, and their Emissaries execute theirs, without considering whether Gratian as a Fool, or a Knave misapplied Cyprian: and he granted that if, as an Universal Censor morum, the Pope did Command the Jesuites or others to inflict spiritual Censures in Cases of Sin, or Non-belief of any Religionary Notion, and those Censures were not to operate beyond the Soul, that Civil Societies might yet be maintained; but to give the Pope power to issue out Orders to burn the Cities and Towns, where the Roman Catholick Religion is not professed, is (said he,) to give him Arbitrary Power over a great part of the World, and to leave it to his Arbitrage, whether there shall be any Political Government and Commerce in the States and Kingdoms of Hereticks, and the World might suffer Confusion by the Papacy's having this power de facto, as much as if it had it de jure, and that several places have been burned as Heretical, and when certainly they had a right not to be so served, and particularly the Heretical Villages at the Massacre of Merindol, of which Dr. Heylin in his Geography in Folio, makes mention, saying, that in the Year 1560. there were above 1250 Churches of the Hugonots in France, which cannot in such a long time but be wonderfully augmented, tho scarce any of them have scaped some Massacre or other. Of these Massacres two are most memorable, viz. that of Merindol and Chabiers, as being the first, and that of Paris as being the greatest. That of Merindol happened in the Year 1545. the instrument of it being Minier, the President of the Council of Aix: for having Condemned those poor people of Heresy, he mustered a small Army and set fire on the Villages. He directed me further for the proof of that Fact to Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, Book 2.d, where he mentions the Decree of the Parliament of Aix to which Heylin refers, and saith Maimbourg of it, *Par le quel il Condamn' par Contumace dix neuf de Ces Heretiques à estre brasléz, &c. ordonne que toutes les Maisons de Merindol qui sont toutes remplies de Ces Heretiques soient entierement démolies, & renverses de fond en comble, &c.*

He further said, that there was another guels Fire projected by the Jesuites, as was before mentioned out of Thuanus, and which was abetted by the Pope, which shewed there was another Pope beside Eugenius, that thought the burning of Heretical Cities lawful and meritorious: and he referred it to the Consideration of the Criticks in Gun-powder, how far so great a quantity of it lodged in a strait Vault, might have tended to the demolishing of the Heretical Cities of Westminster and even of London, if the experiment of the Gun-powder Treason had took effect, for said he, the utmost power of Gun-powder was never yet tried. He told me that Osborn in his King James, having spoke of the Gun-powder Treason saith, *I never met two of the like conceit concerning any effect or extent, this Powder might have reached had it not failed of success: some men confining it to the Circle it lay in and no farther: whereas the judgment of others no less experienced, delivered at least the whole Isle to the fury of it: and then he quotes it as the more probable Conjecture, then that it could not but work dire effects on the City it self.*

He further discoursed that in this Case, of securing Protestant Cities from Fire at the Popes pleasure, *Pere Veron's* artifice in making the Church of Rome, chargeable with nothing to be believed but *what is proposed by the Catholick Church in her general Councils, or by her Universal Practice to be believed, as an Article or Doctrine of Catholick Faith*, or any Papiſts in this Case joyning with Protestants to decry the Canon Law, is but trifling away time, as to any giving light to our understandings or keeping Fire from our Cities: for if each Pope *believes* he hath this power, and the Jesuites too *believe* it, the *Notion* of a things not being *de fide*, will not be sufficient to save our Cities, when the Incendiaries even by the Doctrine of *probability* may save their Souls, and when they shall have such Doctors as the Pope and Gratian and (as they may think) *Cyprian* for the opinion of burning the Nests of Heretical Hornets.

He moreover mentioned how *Bellarmino* as to the Tenet of all Christian Monarchies owing subjection to the Pope, said, the contrary to it is Heretical, tho he well knew that no definition of the Church ever made it Heresy, and might as well have called the denial of this Incendiary Power of the Pope against Heretical Cities, to be Heresy.

Moreover he told me he had read *Bellarmino* cited in that Book of *Donne* p. 277. for writing against a Doctor, who had defended the Venetian Cause against the Popes Censures, and reprimanding that Doctor in these words, viz. *It is a grievous rashness not to be left unpunished, that he should say the Canons as being but Humane Laws cannot have equal Authority with divine: for this is a Contempt of the Canons, as tho they were not made by the direction of the Holy Ghost: and yet saith Donne, citing that Doctor that impugned the Canons, those Canons that he referred to were but two, and cited but by Gratian. And that Donne further in that Page observed, that when Parsons is to make his advantage of any Sentence in Gratian, he uses to dignify it thus, that it is translated by the Popes into the Corps of the Canon Law, and so not only allowed and admitted and approved but commended and commanded, canonized and determined for Canonical Law, and authorized and set forth for Sacred and Authentical by all Popes whatsoever. Treat. of Mitag. ca. 7. R. 42.*

That moreover tho we know that neither the *Decrets* nor *Decretals*, were ever as such received as Law in England, yet the Pope and Jesuites saying that they ought so to have been, and that they were and are obligatory upon us, it will follow that by reason of an unlucky Proverb of *Ben Syrah*, *Quantulus ignis quantam materiam accendit*, and which is used by the Apostle St. James saying, *Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth*, and for that there are some little People ready to apply that little fire, when the Pope or Jesuites would have them, the Majority of the Papiſts here, being Jesuited (as was observed) and that part of them not being of the Gentry, would not be byassed by generous education and temper against the Commands of the mercenary Pope or Jesuites, and for that even in the Jesuited Gentry here, there were Bigots found to plot and to prepare to execute the *Gun-powder Treason*, it is apparent that the Pope may if he will be very troublesome to our Cities with his *Writ de Civitate comburenda*, and that he or the Jesuites can command numbers of instruments to execute that his *Writ* (as I may call it) who will think that therein that they do as lawful an Act, as if the four first General Councils had expressly warranted the same.

He said that the Popes *Decrets* and *Decretals* are in several Popish Countries so much regarded, that to encourage men to study the same, *Academick Degrees* are conferred, namely, of *Doctores decretorum*, and *Doctores decretalium*.

linum. That in France where the Canon Law was never in gross received; as *Minier* the President of the Council of *Aix* did set fire on the Heretical Villages as such, so he hath heard that *Boerius* an eminent Lawyer of France, and President of a Parliament there, and who has published a Volume of *Decisions*, hath in *Tractatu de seditiosis* asserted this *Tenet* of the Pope's power to burn Heretical Cities. That the Christians of old when they groaned under the heaviest weight of the Pagan Persecution, abhorred this revenge against their idolatrous Enemies, as appeared by *Tertullian's* *Apology*, and their sense of the ease with which this revenge might have been executed, *Quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largitatem ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret, sed absit ut aut igni humano vindicetur Divina secta, i. e.* One night with a few Fire-brands would yield us sufficient Revenge, if it were lawful for us to discount evil with evil: but God forbid that the followers of the Divine Religion should either revenge themselves with Humane Fire, &c. That the very Heathens of old accounted there was turpitude in promoting not only their own profit, but that of their Country, in firing the Fleet of proclaimed Enemies; as appeared in *Athens* when *Themistocles* by order from the Senate, had privately Communicated to *Aristides* how he could destroy the *Lacedemonians* by privately burning their Fleet, and *Aristides* had reported to the Senate that the project of *Themistocles* communicated to him was profitable for the State, but was not honest, they unanimously resolved against hearing it (as *Tully* tells us in his *Offices*) and much less would they have deliberated of its turpitude. That the *Athenians* in the time of open War with King *Philip*, and when their Priests offering their most solemn religious Sacrifices to the Gods for the prosperity of their Country, did *Philippum liberos, terrestres navalisque copias atque omnem Macedoniam exitiali carmine & diris imprecationibus detestari*, yet intercepting some Letters writ by him, they returned them to him unopen'd.

That the Pope and his *Trent* Council having never disown'd this power, nor branded this Canon, nor yet by any *index expurgatorius*, damned the Writings of *Gratian*, or *Gundissalvus* or the Famous *Canonists* by him cited for this opinion, it was plain that they might therefore be said to approve of the same, that *Qui non prohibet cum potest jubet*.

That the *Trent* Council had gone far in the Confirmation of the Canon Law; and that the saying used by the Fathers in that Council, was here applicable, viz. *Omnia nostra facimus, quibus auctoritatem nostram imperimur*.

In fine, he saying that every one ought to withdraw from a Church while it in effect approved Doctrines in the Faith erroneous, and in practice impious, and asking me if some of the Great Writers of the Church of *England*, as namely, Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Andrews*, Arch-Bishop *Laud*, Bishop *Sanderfon*, or any of them had industriously published it in Print, that we might lawfully employ Emissaries to burn *Rome*, or any City where all or the Majority were Papists, and that such Writing of theirs was never censured by Authority, and impugned by any of our Divines, tho yet by occasion thereof no Anti-Papists had ever been the Incendiaries of Popish Cities, I would not however withdraw from the Communion of the Church of *England*, till I saw such *Tenet* of those Divines publicly branded; and till such Writing had received the usage that the Canon Law had from *Luther*, when he cast it into the Flames; I plainly told him that I would: and the like he said he was inclined to as to Communion with the Church of *Rome*, if he found that the Fact of that fiery *Tenet* against Heretical Cities, was chargeable on the Pope in his

his Law and in the Writers thereupon as aforesaid. And as little Credit as I wish all *Mushroom* Prophets and Prophecies may find, I am of opinion, if ever any clear discovery should happen in time to be made of that Fire having proceeded from the Councils of great numbers of *Jesuites*, *Friars*, or other *Papists*, (a thing I never Expect) that Popery would thereby be loaded with such a lasting general *Odium* here and in Forraign Countries both Popish and Protestant, as it would hardly breath under the weight of, and the *Prophecy* of the effects of the Year 1666, would cry that their *preditions* did hit right, and boldly say to us their upbraiders, that 66 in its effects is not yet past, just like the *Swab-sayer* who being rallied by *Cæsar* going to the Senate-House, and saying, the *Ides of March were come*, replied to him, that they were not passed.

There is another happy effect, I expect from the grown and growing numbers of our populous Nation, and all mens errors being necessarily the more visible to each other by their close Vicinage, namely, that men will be ashamed to aggravate the supposed Political Errors of the Ministers of our Princes as formerly, and much more not to take it patiently when their Princes pardon them.

How shameful a thing was it that the Kings Pardon was not allowed as good, by the *Lords and Commons*, to Arch-Bishop *Laud*, when nothing but that could save them from the danger of the Laws, for taking away any mans life by Ordinance of Parliament.

But so sharp and perfect a harer is your Lordship of all Cruel and Arbitrary Practices, that I think I have heard you say, that you have often wondered why none ever moved in the House of Lords, that the Proceedings there against Arch-Bishop *Laud* might be took out of their Journal, as well as those against the Earl of *Strafford* were, which was to me an Indication that you would have consented to such a Motion.

Mr. Fox in his Book of *Martyrs* in one Volume, p. 2085. in the Story of the Life and death of the Lord *Cromwel* (who was Vice-Gerent to *Harry the 8th*, for Ecclesiastical Affairs) brings many instances of the cruel injustice by Acts of *Arbitrariness*, that many Great and Excellent Men suffered: and hath these words in the Margin, *Examples of men fully Accused, and Judged, and faith in that*. Not that I here speak or mean against the High Courts of Parliament of this our Realm, &c. to whom I always attribute their due Reverence and Authority: but as it happens sometimes in General Councils, which tho they be never so general, yet sometimes they may and do erre, so they that say Princes and Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes by some sinister Heads in matters Civil and Politick, do not therein derogate or impair the High Estate of Parliaments, but rather give wholesome Admonitions to Princes and Parliament Men, to be more Circumspect and Vigilant what Council they shall admit, and what Witnesses they do Credit.

This passage out of our pious *Martyrologer* makes me with a just Compassion to the Merits of several Illustrious Persons, to call to mind the severity of the Votes of a Loyal Parliament against them.

It was with great precaution and solemnity, that the *Athenian* Wisdom fastened the name of *Enemy* on any one; and of which the frequent imposition and on slight occasions, and on persons not known to have done any Act of *Hostility* to the Kingdom, would make the word lose the *Odium* of its signification, as many Words and Phrases have done, and to import no more stated hatred or enmity in any man to his Country, than do the expressions of Course put into Writs of Prohibition, or *Mandamuses*, to our Bishops and their Officials, viz. Of interfering our disherison, or machinating against our Crown and Dignity, mean

any thing of Treason in them which yet the words so expressly import.

Tully tells us in his *Offices*, that the Original use of the Word *Hæstis*, for one who was *perduellis*, came from the lenity of the *Romans*: *hæstis enim* (saith he) *apud majores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus*: and according to this acception of the Word *Enemy* for *Stranger*, I shall venture to say that I think they were *Strangers* to the *Earl of Hallifax*, and persons misinform'd (as *Mr. Fox* his Expression was) who in the late *Loyal House of Commons* did think him to be *hæstis patriæ*, and whom they who know him, do know likewise to bear no Enmity to any part of the Creation of God, and to be one that is so far from any inclination to injure his Country for his Prince, that either or his Prince or his Country he would not injure the most abject Member of Mankind.

How shamefully void of sense have I observed some few querulous people here to be, who have professed to doubt that a very honourable man hath of late remitted somewhat of his servour, in the defence of our Religion and Laws, who hath so long on every occasion in every place been such an unwearied *Agonist* for both, and one who would not fear to be an *Athanasius contra mundum*, whenever he should in his Province be lawfully called to be its *Antagonist*; and that with contempt too even of the *Bribe* of Popularity: and of the continuance of whose confirm'd and obstinate habit of an Heroical Love to his Country, they who have long known him have never doubted, but have agreed in this point of his perseverance in what *Tully* calls the *pietas in patriam*, to pronounce as the warier *Arminians* do concerning *Grace*, viz. that there is a State of *Grace* attainable in this life, from which it is difficult if not impossible to fall away.

With as little Art and saint Colours as I have here drawn the Picture of this Great Man, any one will say it is very like the *Earl of Radnor*: and the truth is, considering that this same *pietas in patriam*, and the inflexible observation of Justice, have not been so much incarnate in the lives of later Christians, as of ancient Heathens, nor perhaps so legible in their Writings, (and therefore as if that *Practice of Piety* had been too among *Pancreas Res deperditæ*, *Boscaine* held it a proper Advertisement, *That all the Princes of the World should beseech Apollo, that he would insert into their People the love of their Country*) when I would occasionally in discourse do Justice to this Great Exemplar of it, I endeavour to whet my imagination with thoughts out of the *Roman* Authors, and do think of *Contumacy* in *Vertue* (according to *Pliny's* using that word in a good sense) and of the *inexplebilis virtutis veræque laudis homo*, and of the forementioned sooner making *Crimen honestum, quam turpem Catonem*, and of the *multa & terribilia Piso Contempsit; dum speciosum mentis suæ flecti non vult rigorem*, and of what is in *Valerius Maximus* of *Scipio Africanus, quem Dii immortales nasci voluerunt ut esset in quo se virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter ostenderet*, and of *Cicero's* accounting the *pietas in patriam* to be the *via ad Cælum*.

Some here who Correspond with *Sir W. J.* asking me if I had not heard that you were prayed for at *Mafs* in *Ireland*, I told them I had, and that the *Earl of Essex* mentioned the same in the *House of Lords*, and that your Lordship replied, that if any well meaning *Papists* in their *Mafs-house*, or *Jews* in their *Synagogue*, or *Mahumetans* in their *Mosc* unask'd and unsought to, pray'd for you, you would be glad to be the better by their Devotion, tho yet you believed that none of them did ever, yet supplicate Heaven in your behalf. I told my friends here that if that thing had been true (and tho on the account of what hath been beforementioned, I believed

is not to be so in the least) yet they would soon cease to suffer thence that your Lordships love for the Protestant Religion was diminished, if they would reflect on the Case of *Rawlins White* in the *Acts and Monuments*, where it appears that the Bishop of *Landaff* in the Year 1555. just before he Condemned the said *Rawlins* to the Fire as an *Heretick*, ordered a *Priest* to say a *Mass* for him: and as that Bishop in vain Courting him a little before, to abandon the Protestant Faith, and then asking him *how he did, and how he found himself inclined*, the poor Captive replied, *Rawlins you lose me, and Rawlins you find me, and Rawlins I will continue*; that thus constant your Lordship will prove to your Religion and your self, upon any thing that can happen; and that whoever shall write the Story of your Lordships life after you have finished your Mortality, will have cause to say of you as *Mr. Fox* p. 411. mentions, that one who writes of *Wickliff* recorded of him that he persevered in his Religion, *ita ut cano placeret quod juveni complacebat*, that the same thing pleased him in his old Age, which did in his youth.

Nor do I indeed doubt but that when your Lordship shall be upon your passage to the other World, you will take your long leave of your friends in the *Style* with which *Dr. Holland* the *Regius Professor* of Divinity at *Oxford* was observed commonly to bid his friends farewell, viz. *Commendatos amori Dei & odio Papatus*; and that your Lordship who hath been so successful an *Agonist* against Popery, will share in the Glories of that Promise from Heaven, *To him that overcomes will I give the Morning Star*; and that as the Morning Star is the same with the Evening one, and in the Morning is call'd *Phosphorus*, and in the Evening *Hesperus*, so the Protestant Religion will appear in the Evening of your Life, with the same brightness that it did in the Morning thereof, and so continue till you shall arrive at that Region, where *all the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shined for joy*.

How unreasonably rigid are they who when the *Ministers* of Princes are studying and procuring the ease of Mankind, as your Lordship hath done, will in spite of fate disquiet themselves in rendring the lives of such Ministers uneasy; a temper that I think shewed it self over much in a late *Speech* in the *House of Commons*, of *Sir W. J.* who, if my Information be true, did not reverently use the power of his Popularity, when with much Acrimony reflecting on some in the *Kings Council*, he was supposed to have aimed at your Lordship in words to this effect, *There is another in the Council a Noble Man too among the Kings Ministers, and a Lawyer, but if we cannot reach him, do not impeach him*; intimating that he would have been glad of any being able with Articles and Proofs concludent, to have reached your Lordship in order to Impeachment.

There is another Honourable Person who is your Colleague in the *King's Council*, a Great Man and a *Lawyer* too, whom I was sorry to find by the printed *Votes* of the *House of Commons* that were sent into the Country, so many persons were endeavouring to reach with matter of Impeachment, I mean, my *Lord Chief Justice North*. It seem'd to me a thing worthy the name of *News*, that the advising and assisting in the drawing up and passing a *Proclamation* against *Tumultuous Petitions*, should be thought a sufficient ground to proceed upon to an Impeachment against him for high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

The security and quiet of Kings and their People are to be so tenderly regarded, that the drawing one *Proclamation* after another to prevent the blowing or breathing in the Kings Face (I allude to the words in one of the *Articles* against *Woolsey*) by *Tumultuous Petitioners* (a thing punishable

penalizable at *Common-Law*, and likewise by the severity of the *Council-Board* seems strangely imputed as a Crime to a Judge and Privy Counsellor.

The People petitioning in Multitudes are so far from being like the Horse not knowing his own strength, that their coming in such numbers shews they have *Calculated* in, and perhaps with more nicety than the Author of the Discourse before the *Royal Society*, concerning the use of *Duplicate Proportion* had Calculated the strength of *Animals*, the which strength he saith, is as the *square roots* of their weights and substance, and if 1728 Mice were equivalent to one Horse, the said Horse is but $\frac{1}{1728}$ part as strong as all the said Mice; and so might easily strip the Horses Neck of the Thunder that God and Nature (according to *Jobs* expression) have clothed it with; and their petitioning in numbers being a real Proclamation of their power, it was the part of so good a Counsellor of State, and Mathematician to advise his Prince and his Country not to be taken in a Trap by the Petitioning Mice: and it was worthy of so knowing a Judge, to forewarn them of being entrapped by the Law, and as the *Millenary* Petitioners were forewarn'd in King *James* his time.

What occasioned the Proclamation referred to by the *House of Commons*, I know not; but by what I have observed of his accurateness in the administration of Justice in his great Sphere, and of his Mathematical *Genius* even not receding from it self while on the Tribunal he in every Cause demonstrates the rationality of the Laws of *England*, and makes Justice there in its Arithmetical and Geometrical proportion so visible to all, and by what I have seen of the serenity of his temper in having had once or twice the honour of his Conversation, I believe that as a Privy Counsellor he would too as much occasionally assert any Legal Right the Subject hath to Petition his Prince, as he would the Right of the latter not to be illegally and with the apparent Menace of Members address'd to, a way of Petitioning that hath so often and so lately been the Prologue to the ensuing Tragedy of War.

I was very much pleas'd to hear how this Learned Judge, being once moved to grant a *Prohibition* to the Court Christian in a certain Cause, and that the Council sitting with Presidents *pro* and *con* that came not home to the point, his Lordship declared in words to this purpose, that in any proceeding that was against Universal Reason he would grant the *Writ*; and I think it was as proper for him as a States-man to advise a *Prohibition* in the way of a Proclamation against *Tumultuous Petitions*, than which nothing can be more against *Universal Reason*. But if a person who is so great a Master of that Reason, and indeed of Universal Learning, and of that part of it that deserves the name of *Real*, and whose single Learning would serve to vindicate a whole profession from *Enasmus* his Aspersions of *Idolism* was *indolentum hominum*, and of knowing nothing of the Sense and Reason of the World beyond *Dover*, and the brightness of whose parts hath given a Lustre to the Science of the Law, and by whom if by any of his Age that may be thought possible to be done that our Great Lord Bacon advis'd King *James* to Crown his Reign with, namely, the bringing the Body of the *Common-Law*, or our *jus non scriptum* into a Digest, I say if a person thus accomplished cannot have the skill to walk through the World free from Impeachment, it will be sufficient to make all men of Illustrious Abilities and Godlike Inclinations to do good, retire from dangerous Mankind, and not adventure to Aid Princes who are Gods Vice-Roy in the Government of the World, and to be happy in themselves without preferring it, as the first being was before he made it.

What

What a *diminution* was it to the honour of the Age, that the Popularity of Sir W. J. a person who in the florid part of his youth, appeared but an *Entree Clerk*, or one who *entred* Judgments for Attorneys, and in the greatest Figure he made in Parliament, or the Court: acquired no fame by various Learning and Skill in the Politicks, or by having profoundly studied the great Book of the World, should yet as with the *Impetus* of an Oracle run down the great Characters of this Lord, and of your Lordship and the Earl of *Hallifax*, that are known to the World to be so great for Loyalty and Learning, and the Comprehensive Knowledge of the present and past State of Christendom: and that after that Loyal and Learned Person, and undefatigable assertor of our Laws and Religion, Sir L. *Jenkins* had with great Reason and Courage in a *Speech* in the *House of Commons* against the *Exclusion Bill* affirmed, that the passing the same would be contrary to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Sir W. J. thereupon answering it with the *Non est hæres viventis*, he had somewhat like a general *humme* of Applause from the House, and almost as if his had been the *voice of God and not of Man*?

But on this occasion I should be unjust and too reserved to your Lordship, if I should not tell you that a *Gentleman* of good parts and a great Estate, a Member of that Parliament, acquainted me that he being then one of the great Admirers and Followers of Sir W. J. and frequently present with him in the most private *Cabals*, did observe him to be full of fears of the *Courts* being brought to favour the *Exclusion-Bill*, as supposing that the Parliament would be thereby engaged to part with great Sums of Money: and that he observed Sir W. J. and others of the *Cabal*, were at a stand in their Politicks as not knowing what steps to make next if that *Bill* had passed, and the Consideration whereof (he told me) made him not desirous to participate further in their Councils.

Thus just is it for Heaven sometimes to blind and confound and abandon good men in their Councils, when they abandon plain Principles and Dictates of Reason, and when they will not do what they know, to suffer them not to know what they do, and particularly not to know while they were so busily founding *Dominion or Empire in Grace*, that they were riding *Post* to *Rome* as fast as ever that *Father* of the *Trent-Council* did, who was so often employed to the Holy See to bring thence the Holy Ghost in a Cloak-bag.

It is some Consolation to your Lordship to have fellow sufferers in the Obloquy cast upon you, by the Tongue of a young Man, in a matter so remote from verisimilitude, and not worth the twice naming, and whose Person I thought not worthy the naming once, however a Loyal Parliament thought his Accusations worthy the Press: and in whose reproach that Honourable Person, and your Lordships old friend the Earl of *Peterborough* shared with you. But by what I have found to be the judged Character of that Lord, among the most Impartial Studiers of Men in the Age, I may justly say that the honour of the Age was a fellow sufferer with you both, by the publick Countenancing of the dirt by so obscure a hand thrown on a Person of so Noble Descent both from Father and Mother, and of so much Courage and Loyalty and Learning, and on whom his great knowledge of all History Ancient and Modern, hath so much accomplished as a States-man, and one who in his Travels in the World abroad left there such impressions of his real value on the most Critical Observers, that his Prince thought him to be the most proper Person to employ abroad as Ambassador, in negotiating the Marriage between his *Royal Highness* and the *Princess* of *Modena*, whereby we may yet hope for

an Heir Male to inherit the Crown of *England*; I never heard that any thing but *Spain* could represent this Lord otherwise than a true Son of the Church of *England*; and having once or twice seen him *en passant* at your Lordships House, and observed the lineaments of Honesty and Honour in his looks, do think that his very face may serve to confute thousands of such Tongues as that which aspersed him. But both his Lordship and yours have likewise in that Persons Accusations, and in the greatest Circumstances of improbability, been fellow sufferers with the greatest Subject, and therefore need not be ashamed of your fate, according to what the Famous *Historian* so well said, *Post Carthaginiem captam vincit neminem pudeat.*

Yet having said all this; I shall say that perhaps had it been the fortune of that Loyal Parliament to have fate longer, it might too have happened that none of your Lordships that I have named would at last have thought it *Parliamentum sine misericordia*, and that I believe you will not find any future one so, and that your Lordships who have so eminently supported the Northern *Hereſie* so called, will be like the North *Magnetick* and attract a general popular love, which after all its *variations* will return again to you.

But 'tis high time for me to take off my hand from this Map of the Future State of *England*, that as a *Predicter* rather than a *Prophet* I have here so particularly delineated, and as one who according to what is in *St. Mathew*, *When it is Evening, say it will be fair weather, for the Sky is red, &c.* and from Natural Causes have as well as I could, discern'd the signs of the times, and what it may be a shame for any one that is a piece of a Philosopher to be wholly ignorant of, when the inspired *Prophet* tells us, that the Stork knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle and the Crane and the Swallow observe the time of their coming, and that 'tis obvious that the Beasts of the Field as well as Birds of the Air foresee unseasonable weather, from the disposition of the Air.

Nor is it hard for any *Considerer* now in relation to some of the Popish and Protestant Recusants to undertake what the *Magicians, Astrologers, and Chaldeans* durst not to the King of *Babylon*, I mean to tell them what their *Dream* was: they dreamt to rule us still by a Nation within a Nation as the *Mamelukes* did *Egypt*, they dreamt of Offices and like idle *Millenaries* of *Lactantius* his golden Age, when the Cliffs of the Mountains shall sweat out Honey, and the Springs and Rivers shall flow with Milk and Wine, and of a *pingue solum* that shall tire no Husbandmen, and of such a Country as *Campania* the Garden of *Italy* that shall not be called *terra del lavoro*. But I do predict that the noise of the World, and their being necessarily disturbed by the busie in whose way they stand will awaken them, and that if they will have any food to raise the vapours, that will again feed sleep in them, they must work for it, and that no Papists and Presbyterians will in their sleep cry out of *Persecution* as formerly, and that no Papist will hereafter applaud either the Justice or temper of Mr. *Coleman* in writing as aforesaid to the *Inter-Nuncio*, of the Execution of the Penal Laws against the Papists, and saying, *Which are so insupportable that 'tis impossible any that is reach'd by them to have wherewithal to eat Bread, if they be executed according to the said Proclamation.*

Nor I believe will such Complaining be heard in our Streets from any of the Non-Conformist Divines, as I have read in Print from one Learned Divine of them, viz. some of the ejected Ministers are so reduced and find so little succour, that they live upon brown Bread and Water, some have died through the effects of want, we will be thankful to be under no severer usage than

than Colliers and Barge-men, and Sea-men, than begging Rogues and Vagabonds have.

But as among the *Augurs* of old, the *Poultreys* not eating their Meat or Bread, served as an indication that the *Roman Army* was not then to fight, so I hope that the same thing was meant by the *sullenness* of Mr. *Colemans* Augury and the others Complaint, and that both Papists and Protestants will here eat the *Bread of Quietness* with *Thanksgiving*.

And considering the great number of *Attorneys* and *Solicitors* and *Dealers* towards the *Law*, that hath long over-spread the Land, and planted in the same such a general proneness to litigation, and over-ran it so with Briars and Thorns of the Law that our Country is not more famous for our Wooll, than infamous for our so much fleecing one another, and considering how another thing hath occasionally put so many men to be skilful Masters of the *Science of Defence* with the Weapons of the Law, I mean the farming of so much of the publick Revenue, I may well predict that if such a wild probability should happen as any Princes hereafter endeavouring by any illegal Course to advance Popery, that the good and loyal people would be *Lachrymists* to him, they would be soon apt to make all ministerially concerned therein to be *Lachrymists* to them.

Altho *England* had a King, namely, *Harry the 1st*, of whom 'tis recorded, that reforming the old and untrue measures, he made a measure after the length of his Arm, yet as we have one who hath graciously measured the Arm of his Power by the Laws, so I may safely adventure to foretel what his lawful Successors will do; and it is to this purpose in some of the most subtle seditious Pamphlets notified in Print by the ill wishers to the next Heir to the Crown, viz. that they fear more mischief from him as Chief Favourite and Minister to his Prince, than they would from him if ever he should live to wear a Crown: for then (say they) we shall know how to be provided against him by the Course of the Law.

Nor is it to be doubted but that he who never was known to advise his Prince, to incommode any one contrary to the Law, will never employ his own power to the illegal detriment of any man. During this time that his Prince hath so justly placed so much of the Royal Favour on him, may he not as to his administration thereof say with the same Justice as the great Prophet, *Whose Ox or Ass have I taken?* May it nor be asked whom of the mad sort of Cattle that with an infinity of Calumnies and Shams gored his reputation, or wild Asses that kick'd at the same, did he hurt with power or yet take the fair advantage of the Law against, till his many loyal friends who were secret true *Lachrymists*, for the publick false misreports spread against him, did importune him so for the Kingdoms good to defend his honour, and that they might no more be punished by seeing the limbs of his reputation lie torn and mangled in every Coffee-house, who had so often exposed those of his Body to Bullets and Chain-shot in Sea Fights, for the saving the life and honour of their Country?

Those therefore that could in earnest write to the effect abovemention'd in such seditious Pamphlets, let them talk or look as gravely as they will, I shall yet think but in jest while at other times they are amusing any with questions about their being *Lachrymists* under such a Prince; and they put me in mind of a famous Musician we had in the Court in King *James's* time, Dr. *John Dowland*, who printed a Book of Songs and Pavans for the Lute with the Title of *Lachrymæ*, and Dedicated it to Queen *Anne*, and in the Table of the Book, several of them are thus remarked, viz. *Lachrymæ antiquæ*, *Lachrymæ gementes*, *Lachrymæ veræ*, and he observes there in the Epistle what is obvious enough that Tears are not always shed

in

in sorrow, but sometimes in joy and gladness. But there is another thing of more weight that occurs to my thoughts from the remembring that Mr. Henry Peacham in his Book, called the *Compleat Gentleman*, doth on the name of this Lutinest *Johannes Dowlandus*, bestow the *Anagram*, *annos ludendo hausi*, and that is, that many in several Parliaments who thought they could do no right to Protestancy but by doing wrong to the next Heir, did too much and too long play with the *Royal Offers*, and when they might (if they pleased) have effected as quick a prevention of the growth of Popery under any *Roman Catholick Successor*, as was took care of in *Scotland*.

Yet however I have said enough for my continuing to think that as in that Kingdom, there are few or none that fear that the belief of Popery can ever there gain much ground, and ever be the Paramount Religion there, and who think not that the words of *arise Peter kill and eat*, will sooner bring the *Scots* to eat Hogs Flesh, and believe there is a *Divine Right* for their so doing (St. Peters Sheet from Heaven in the Vision having had that *Animal* in it) than to swallow the belief of Popery, or of the *Jure-Divinity* of the Pope, so the fears of its growth in *England*, or of any occasion for the Virtue of the *Lachrymæ antiquæ* of the Primitive Christians will daily grow more and more moderate, and in time be extinguished.

The late Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews estimated the number of Papists and their Children in *Scotland*, to be but about a thousand: but their number in the *States* of the *United Provinces* is vastly more, insomuch that the ingenious Author of the *Policy of the Clergy of France to destroy the Protestants of that Kingdom*, mentions, that there are in *Holland*, a Country of small extent, ten times more *Popish Ecclesiasticks* than there are *Protestant Ministers* in all *France*, which is very large. There is a compleat Clergy and Hierarchy. *Amsterdam* and all the other great Cities have their Bishops. Those Bishops have their Chapter and their Priests. There are even religious houses. They are somewhat disguised, but are as well known as the *Ecclesiasticks* are in *France*, and are not in the least assaulted, &c. There was one day in a Long-boat or Ship a Priest dressed in black Cloths who was not otherwise disguised than that his Coat was short, who said his Breviary before a hundred persons, with as much Liberty as he could have done in *France*.

And yet perhaps the number of those who in *Holland* fear them, or who pretend to fear them, is but the least of numbers.

I think too in this sharp sighted age, where Art among the Inquisitive follows Nature as carefully as Equity doth Law, one may safely predict that in the Dividend of our time little will come to the share of *Metaphysics*, or the considering how *Metaphysica agit de iis quæ sunt supra naturam*, and that the World being infinitely busie will not trouble it self with *Arriagâs infinitum infinito infinitius*: and Christendom's being universally employed in preparing its defence against War, and giving us time only for real Learning will divert us from either much opposing or defending the old point, whether *Universale be ens reale*, or whether *Universalia* are *res extra singularia*. If by *Metaphysics* we could find a real Answer to the Question, *what is truth*, or what is time, of which it hath devoured so much, or learn how to measure it by knowing *what's a Clock*, we might go on with its *entitas*, which Mr. Hobs well englisheth, the *isseness* of a thing: but since it resolves not what things are as aforesaid, but as *Hudibras* saith, only *what is what*, I think as *Filesc. de authorit. epis. c. 1.* mentions, that the Council in *France* forbad *Aristotle's Metaphysics*, and punished

punished with Excommunication the exscribing, reading or having that Book; our time will hold little Communion hereafter with *Second Notions* on those who Trade in them, and that as it will seem very absurd to sacrifice much time to the enquiry if *Universale* is a real being, and whether *Universalia* are *res extra singulalia*, and to sacrifice men for believing the contrary, so it will likewise seem to enquire Whether there be one *Catholic*, or *Universal* Apostolick Church existent apart from particular Churches, which sense and reason tell us are and must be many, tho the *Catholic* Church be but one, and for the want of considering which so many People have been decoyed into the Church of *Rome*.

Many are the things that an ordinary Philosopher may predict concerning *Rome*, and particularly varying from the Prophecy, that it was to be destroyed by Fire, may foretel *Romam fore luce delendam*, and as *Tully's* words are in his Book *de Naturâ Deorum*, *Opinionem Commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit*. And thus too it is easie to predict that the light of Reason and Experience will forever blot out here the Innovations that came from *Geneva* as well as those from *Rome*. The Jewish *Rabbins* have from the words of the *Sol Justitiæ* arising with healing in his wings, introduced a Proverb of *The Sun ariseth, the infirmity decreaseth*, meaning thereby that the Diseases that make Mortals groan and languish in the Night, are somewhat abated by the rising Sun: and thus the State of our Nation will be attended with greater health on the decay of *Presbyter's* Kingdom of *Darkness*.

The Walls of its *Jericho* are fallen down flat with the sound of the Trumpets of the *Dissenters* own Sayings, so usefully published.

Tho I have said enough to speak my opinion of all *Dissenters* to the Discipline of our Church, not owning such sanguinary Principles as are chargeable on some *Papists*, yet the *Dissenters* Sayings have proved enough what some of their Principles were. Nor can it be forgot that King *James* did very justly in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, accuse the *Notes* in the *Geneva Bible* to be *Seditious* and to savour of *Traiterous Conceits*, and that he instanced therein in the *Notes* on *Exodus* 1. 19. Where they allow of disobedience to Sovereign Kings and Princes.

As absurd as that *Tenet* beforementioned in the *Decrets*, and there founded on the 13th of *Deuteronomy* is, I would wish no *Presbyterian* to insult over any *Papists* for it: for it is visible in no meaner a Book than the *Assemblies Annotations* on *Zechary* 13. 3. where the Father and Mother of a false Prophet are commanded to say to him *thou shalt not live*, and 'tis said, *his Father and Mother that begat him, shall thrust him through when he Prophecieth*. The Comment on the words, *Thou shalt not live* affirms, that the equity of the Law of *Deut.* 13. 6. 9. remains under the Gospel: and with less danger is a Thief, an Adulterer, a Witch tolerated than such an Heretick and Seducer. The present pleading for liberty of Conscience in Preaching and Practice is a thing extremely shameful, dangerous and destructive: and the Comment on the the words *His Father, &c.* is, *His Parents themselves shall not spare him, preferring therein their Zeal and Piety towards God before the Affection and Love which naturally they bear toward their own Children*. See *Deut.* 13. 6. 9. No less Zeal is required under the Gospel than was under the Law.

I pray God deliver all Mankind from the cruel rigour of the Equity (as those *Divines* term it) of that Judicial Mosaic Law binding under the Gospel: and from that kind of Zeal binding under the Gospel that did under the Law, by virtue of the 6th and 9th Verses of that Chapter, and from the 16th V. of which Chapter the Obligation for firing Heretical Cities was as well deduced by the *Pope*.

The Church of *England* illuminates us with better Doctrine, and our Reverend Bishop *Sanderfon* tells us in his 4th Lecture *De obligatione conscientiae*, that no Law given by *Moses* doth directly and formally, and per se bind the Conscience of a Christian, i. e. as it was given by *Moses*, for that every *Mosaic Law* as such was positive, and did oblige those only it was put upon, i. e. the Jews, and shews that the Precepts of the *Decalogue* oblige, not because *Moses* commanded them, but because of their being consentaneous to nature, and confirmed by the Gospel, and so doth manumit the Christian World from the Yoke of the *Judicial Law* that was made only for the stiff necks of Jews. *Calvin* himself on that place of *Zachary* 13. 3. doth blunder as shamefully as did our *Assembly men*: for he there makes the Penal Jewish Laws to bind under the Gospel. His words there are these, *Sequitur ergo non modo legem illam fuisse Judæis positam, quemadmodum nugantur fanatici homines, sed extenditur etiam ad nos eadem lex*, and himself was in this point the *Fanatick*, and not the contrary opinors: and deniable it is not, that several of the *Calvinistick* and *Lutheran Divines* beyond Sea did imbibe the error of *hereticidium* from the same mistaken Principle of *Monk Gratians*, namely, that the Penal severe Jewish Laws were obligatory under the Gospel: and tho no *Presbyterians* (that I know of) were here Arraigned for any design to fire our *Metropolis*, and some *Fanatical Fifth-Monarchy* men only were Arraigned, Convicted, and Executed for such a design (and whose Names I think might on that account have been properly enough engraven on the *City Monument*) yet of the out-rage of our *Presbyterians* having actually fired the Church and State with an intestine War, the whole Kingdom is a *Monument*: and where now their Principles are so seen, and seen through, that I believe any other such inhumane *Ecclesiasticks* as many of our former *Presbyterians* were, will be ashamed to appear among us. Their *Assembly* is adjourned to the Grave, and no *Divines* will (I believe) in any future Course of time find the People of *England* willing to have 4s. a day, the wages of each in the *Parliaments Synod*, allowed to them for endeavouring to bring our Consciences under the *Mosaic Pedagogy*: and the noise of the World from *Hammers* of Hereticks either in any *Presbyterian Synod* in *England*, or in any new *Popish General Council* beyond Sea, will (I believe) be utterly over.

And tho perhaps the *Centum gravamina* did heretofore cause the last pretended *General Council* to be called, I mean the Famous *Tridentine* one, I may, looking on the Course of Nature, conclude, that there will never be any *General Council* more; and that not only for that the Pope hath been *hors de page*, since the breaking up that of *Trent*, but because that having been *Revera* a Council of *Pensioners*, and having stood the Papacy for *Pensions* in 3000 *Crowns* a Month, (i. e. in 750 *l. Sterling*) and having put the Popes to that Charge during its sitting for 18 years, as it is easie to Calculate how much in pounds *Sterling* that Council cost the Popes in all, so it is as easie to foresee that if the Pope should have occasion for the fellow to that Council, he would not have that quantity of Money to spare for the same.

There is another thing that I may from the Course of Nature fortel much quiet to my Prince, and happiness to my Country by, and that is the extermination of all Mercenary Loyalty, and of an inglorious *Loyalty-Trade* as well as of a *Religion-Trade*, and mens not thinking they are to have *Offices* or *Donatives* for not being Villains, or that by Monopolizing to themselves the name of the *Loyal*, they should expect therefore a lucrative *Monopoly*, the which would stain their Loyalty indeed, and make it as null and void as any *Monopoly*: for the word
Loyal

Loyal being used for *Lawful*, he is not *homo legalis* in one sense, who is bought to be just.

The apparent vast number of the Kings Subjects rendring them too many to hope all for *largesses*, and the too great probability of the Future State of *England* according to my Notion, requiring for the support and defence of the Government, all that to be employed in order thereunto, what giving Parliaments can well give, will make People ashamed to cling to the Royal-Oak like Ivy, and by preying on its vigour make it the less able to give shelter by its branches.

I was overjoyed with a piece of News a Gentleman sent me, namely, that he discoursing once at dinner with the Lord *Hide*, the first *Commissioner* of the *Treasury*, concerning the Insolence of some mens expecting to be rewarded by the King, for not doing mischief to his Government or Revenue, his *Lordship* occasionally mentioned somewhat to this effect, *viz.* that the Trade of such men was now broke: there will now be no more *taking off* of men as the word was: and if by his *Lordship's* Advice to his Great Master, the resolving against *taking off* of men by Pensions and Rewards, was settled as a new Fundamental Rule in the *English* Politicks, as I am informed it was, I shall think his *Lordship* deserves to find an everlasting Triumph in the *History* of the Age, and to be more honoured by *England* than if as Commander of an Army he had vanquished very many Thousands of its Enemies: for that the *taking off* of *Hydra's* Heads by Gifts (as was beforementioned) would be an endless work, and the ill effects thereof inclusive of so much Hostility to the publick, would be innumerable. But God be thanked the King by the Political Conduct of this his *Minister* is now made *Victorious* over all those *Enemies*: and if I had heard that any near his Majesty had moved for a day of *Thanksgiving* by reason hereof, I should not have wondered at it; the thing being of so great importance to *England*. And no doubt but the shame of any mens diminishing the Royal Revenue by begging from the Crown will be the greater, when the necessary improvement of our Land by our numerous People shall have enriched as many as deserve to be so, and when to all, who are industrious, there will every where be *multiplex præda in medio posita*, and the effects of diligence fill all hands with profit, and eyes with pleasure.

This is one kind of a *New Heaven* and a *New Earth*, that perhaps we may shortly see in old *England*, and when men shall by enquiries about Religion design only *luciferous* experiments, and not *luciferous* as my Lord *Bacon's* Phrase is; and men shall improve their fortunes by the improvement and culture of the Earth: and to this effect we find the *Prophecies* of Prosperity to the *Jews* in the old Testament expressed by the *Trees yielding their fruit, and the Earth their encrease, the Seed shall be prosperous, the Vine shall give her Fruit and the Ground shall give her encrease, the Earth shall bear the Corn and the Wine and the Oyl, &c.*

And they who are now by seducers that augment wild fears and jealousies directed to look up for strange Prodigies to the Sky, will need no Monitors to behold with joy the unusual fruitfulness of the cultivated Earth: and therefore I think that one Philosopher looking on the Future State of *England* may well say to another,

Aspice venturo latentur ut omnia sæclo.

c Then shall men on the account of Profit turn their Swords to Ploughshares, and the Religion-Trading false Prophet baffled by fate, shall then say as 'tis in *Zachary*, *Non sunt Propheta, agricola sum.*

I do not wonder at some mens menacing our *English* World with ill news from Fate. It is no irrational thing to suppose that the false *Prophets* in all ages did often find it turn to their private account to foretel evil rather than good to Kingdoms; for that many might hope to mend their fortunes by the publick ruines, and would therefore be well pleased with the Predictors of ill to the publick, and would celebrate the Predictors; and therefore it was not without cunning contrived that the prolation of Events by the ancient Oracles, should be in a double sense sometimes, because it might then be a moot point whether the Party of those that desired the quiet or disorder of great Bodies of People was most considerable.

The most sagacious sort of false Prophets whose chief business it was to be true to themselves (as the falsest Dice of Gamesters are most true to the users) did often choose to alarm the People with disastrous Events: and thus the *Witch* of *Endor* chose to make the *Shamm-Samuel* entertain *Saul* with the prediction of his and his Sons death the next day. But 'tis time for us to follow that great admonition of *Beware of false Prophets*, when we hear so many foretelling us, as by inspiration, of nothing but *lamentation and weeping and great mourning* in England, for the continuance of the decay of Trade, and unavoidable ruine of the Protestant Religion, and when many such deluders and counterfeit *Lachrymists* cannot (I fancy) about our weeping on this account, take their measures together without smiling, according to that Say of *Tully* *Potest augur augurem videre & non ridere*? It is a very great saying of *Tully's* in his 2d Book de *Divinatione*, *Nam ut vere loquamur, superstitio fusa per orbem oppressit omnium fere animos, atque hominum occupavit imbecillitatem*. And as wise as *Socrates* was, yet in *Xenophon* he disputes that, *ἡ Μαντιὰ*, and Oracles were necessary to the preservation of Common-wealths, and *Plutarch* doth alledge experience in Confirmation thereof; and the murmuring *Jews* thought themselves ill used by Providence when the age wanted a Prophet among them, tho yet the Prophets were so frequent in denunciations of wo to them, and like Seamen they liked weather that was somewhat like a storm, rather than to lie in the World becalm'd. 'Tis said in *Psalms* 74. *There is no more any Prophet, we see not our signs*.

And as much as *Superstition* had in *Tully's* words, daunted almost all mens spirits, yet the Cheat of the *Augury* was so contrived and diversified as sometimes on occasion to heighten and enlarge them, and in effect to enlarge the Empire it self.

Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.

But many of our *Augurs* endeavour only to enlarge our fears and jealousies, and to intimidate our spirits and to render the *Genius* of the Nation less august, and only to enlarge their own fortunes.

But the ill ominous Birds are flying away: and the many Loyal *Addresses* with which the Land re-echoes, and the avowed readiness of so many good men to serve the best of Princes with their *Lives* as well as *Fortunes* upon occasion, import the best of *Auguries* to *England*, and such an one as *Homer* mentions,

Εἰς αἶων ἄρις ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πατρίδος.

i. e. *Unum augurium est præstantissimum, pugnare pro patriâ: and to which Verse of Homer, Tully probably intended a reference when in his de senectute he said, Optimis auguriis ea geri, quæ pro Reip. salute gerentur.*

Your

Your Lordship hath formerly among the great transactions of your life shewn your self a noble Adventurer, for the honour and danger that this kind of *Augury* can import, and particularly by your carrying at once your Law in your head, and your life in your hand in the fight of a Party that had been so successful with their Swords, and even to *wind-ward* of all others by inspiration, and when the Conduct of your Politicks so highly advanced your Prince's Restoration, and so much helped to effect the quashing of all the furious *Prophecies* of *Monarchy ceasing* in England.

Not without apologizing for my guilt of a solecism like his who discoursed of *War before Hannibal*, by my having so largely address'd my Sentiments of the Future State of *England* to such an *Oracle* as your Lordship, I must at last say,

Non ego sum Vates, sed prisca conscius ævi, &c.

and have only taken my measures from natural Causes, and judging of things to come by what have been, and by nature's most firm Constancy to it self, and things not being ill administrable; and at this rate can further very safely predict that according to *Juvenal*,

Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicet.

And moreover I have in my predictions of the Future State of *England* intersperfed many Remarks that may be directive, and naturally tend to enrich the Land and advance its Trade and Industry; and thus I do account that our Writers of *Almanacks* do some way compensate the loss of Peoples time employed in regarding how they turn the hand of the Lottery of Fate round the World, and foretel various Revolutions and Events here at home and abroad, by their likewise telling them in what *Months* to set Quick-sets and Fruit and Timber-Trees, dig Gardens, fell Timber, uncover the Roots of Trees, and to trim all sorts of Fruit-trees from Moss, Canker, and superfluous Branches, when to transplant Trees and when to remove Grafts or young Trees, and when to sow all manner of Garden Seeds and Herbs, when to sow Wheat, and to sow Hemp and Flax, and by raising in them rational expectations of the Future State of the Earth meliorated by its Culture.

My Lord, according to the common connexion of thoughts, it here comes in my way to think that it is usual in the Scripture and in several Books, to express the sense of placing *Notions* and *Tenets* and *Doctrines* in the World, by the Terms of *Seeds* and *Plants*, and the spreading of the same by the growth encrease and propagation of *Plants*, and the ceasing of them by the Terms of *decrease*, *withering* or *extirpation*. Our Saviour's Parables of the *Sower*, and some *Seeds falling by the way side* and being devoured by the *Fowls*, and some falling upon *stony places* where they had not much Earth, and forthwith springing up because they had no deepness of Earth, and being scorched when the Sun was up, and because they had not root withering away, and his Indication of false *Prophets* by the similitude of *Trees*, and knowing them by their *Fruit*, and his reference to false *Doctrines*; when he saith, *That every Plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up*, and his expression of false *Religionary Notions* by *Tares* in the *Parable*, are known to all conversant with their *English Bibles*, as is likewise his resembling himself to the *Vine*, and his Father to the *Husbandman*, and his saying, that every *Branch* in me that beareth not *Fruit* he taketh away, and *St. Paul's* calling the Church *God's Husbandry*, and when

he tells the *Corinthians* of his *Planting* and *Apollos* his *watering*.

And we have heard enough of a *Collegium de propagandâ fide*, among the *Romanists*, and their many laboured points *De extirpandis hæreticis*, and of the *Exterminium Hæreticorum*; and of their Arts to extirpate whatsoever Religious Notions they are pleased to call Heretical, and of Nature in this Realm having extirpated those Arts: and we know how naturally Protestantism did shoot up again in this our Soyle under Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, after its being cut down near the Ground in Queen *Mary's*: *Quippe solo natura subest*: and accordingly *Job* regarding the Nature of the Soyle saith, *There is hope of a Tree if it be cut down that it will sprout again, and that the tender Branch thereof will not cease, tho the Root thereof wax old in the Earth, and the Stock thereof die in the Ground, yet through the Scent of Water it will bud and bring forth Boughs like a Plant*: and the hand of the God of Nature kept her hands from extirpating it: and the irrigation of Nature wrought more powerfully than her Fires, and the Scent of Water made Sagacious, Loyal Protestants with their *Lachrymæ veræ* and *lachrymæ antiquæ* preface the growth of Protestantism: but as our Laws now are and likely forever to be, Protestants here may not only take their measures of the natural duration of their Religion, from the similitude of the sublime Prophet, viz. *as the days of a Tree are the days of my People*, but from the stability of the *Lex terræ* and the very Earth.

I have before spoke of the Papal Power ending in *England* under *Harry* the 8th, *per simplicem desinentiam*, and by the power of Nature: and without the Midwifery of the trouble of his Conscience, or any Artifice in troubling the *Divines* and *Academies* of Christendom about his Marriage with his Brothers Relict, the birth of Fate would by necessity of Nature have (I think) happen'd as it did. Alas! His Marrying her, who had been his Brothers Wife, was only against the *Judicial Law* of the *Jews*, and I am sure was not against the Law of Nature, as all granting the Law of Nature to be indispensable, and the necessity of *Cain* and *Abel* Marrying their own Sisters, and Gods Commanding them to increase and multiply, and Gods calling *Sara Abraham's* Wife, who yet was his Sister, (when as that Matrimonial Contract if it had been against Nature had been null) and granting likewise that God, who never commanded any thing against the Law of Nature, did yet in the *Levitical Law* Command a Brother to take his Brothers Wife to Marry her, and to raise up Seed to his Brother, must grant: I therefore concluded, that without *Harry* the 8th either having any Conscience or any Trouble in it, the weakest pretence in the strong hand of Nature would have been an effectual Weapon, to have then beat down the Papal Power in *England*. It was Nature that did, as I may say, raise up that strong Seed at that time both in *England* and *Germany* and elsewhere, that ended in the Divorce of *England*, and many Territories from the Papal Power.

And to resume the Comparison of the Seed of Plants, 'tis obvious to us to consider that while our Ships Royal were formerly made of the Oaks in our Forests that were generally self-sown, that is, such as sprang from Acorns dropping from Trees, or that Birds in their flights let fall, it may be said that those materials for rearing the Walls of the Kingdom, were themselves reared by the hand of Nature, and that those Seeds falling in a Soyle proper for them, and by the Forest Laws guarded at first from the feet of Men or Beasts, and by the Autumnal Rains naturally beaten into the Earth, and defended by the procerity of many other Trees from the injuries of the Wind and Sun, were by the Husbandry of the God of Na-

ture brought within the high Style of *Arbores Dæi*, as the *Psalms*'s expression is. And moreover while it many times happens, that we see one Timber Tree grow out of the Body of another, and particularly an Oak out of a Beech (and which may be well supposed to have so happened from an Acorn dropt by a Bird into the hollow part of a decaying Beech) and there meeting with a reception from the putrid parts of the Beech, and the Rain there furthering its passage downward, and the Dews there watering it from Heaven, and the Beech fencing it conveniently from the Wind and Sun, the Stem of an Oak doth there naturally shoot up, and as naturally pierce its way for its strong Branches through the sides of the Beech, and work its Root into the ground through the Root of that Tree, and in time causeth it as certainly to be thrust out of Nature as it could have been by any extirpation; and when a decaying Oak is thus powerfully vanquished by the Seed of a less famous Tree, (as to this purpose we are told by Mr. Evelyn in his excellent Discourse of *Forest Trees*, that persons of undoubted truth have asserted it, that they have seen a Tree cut in the middle whose heart was *Ash-wood* and the exterior part Oak) we may justly say that Nature did produce all these effects. And the Energy of nature thus casually causing one Tree to penetrate through another into the Earth, and there without noise forever to displace it, is as perfectly applicable to Religionary Tenets and Doctrines: and thus (as I may with a running view observe) the Seed of the Christian Religion, being (tho from some mean and obscure hands) dropt on the decaying great Trees of *Judaism* and *Paganism*, presently wrought it self through their Bodies and Roots; and afterward the nobleness of the temper of the Primitive Christianity decaying in the World, that Religion, whose heart of Oak had lasted so long, and outbraved all the Storms of Persecution, was yet pierced through by *Arrianism*: and *Arrius* perplexing the simplicity of the Christian Religion with such Intrigues of vain Philosophy, that instead of converting mens hearts turned their brains, and even *Constantine's* own (as appeared by his banishing *Athanasius*, and then recalling, and then banishing him again) and when the Christian Divines vexed every vein of his heart more than they did *Julian's*, and very laudably in his Council of *Nice* presented him with *Lampoons* one against another, and Christianity so soon proving too heavy when 'twas made the State Religion of the World, and *Athanasius* himself was at length the only sober Party, and when the *Arrians* happened to be the first Christians that persecuted men for Religionary Tenets, (and as *Grotius* in his *De Jure belli*, l. 2. c. 20. tells us, *In Arrianum hæresim acriter invehitur Athanasius, quod prima in contradicentes assuetudinem potestate, & quos non potuit verbis inducere, eos vi, plagis, verberibusque ad se pertrahere anniteretur*, and did bastinado People into Conversion) and when the Orthodox Christians had groaned longer under the *Arrian* Persecution, than they had done under the *Pagan*, and when the Christian Religion whose Precepts do so nobly transcend the Morality of all others, did shortly after appear in the World with such a Figure of a Decayed Tree as gave *Salvian* cause to exclaim, *Prius paucissimos quosdam, qui mala fugiunt, quid est aliud omnis cæcus Christianorum quam sentina vitiorum*, it was but congruous to nature that those rapacious Birds of prey the *Mahumetans*, dropping the Seed of their new invented Religion on the Christian as decayed by *Arrianism*, that it should so soon work it self through all its parts and roots in *Asia* and *Africa*, and that the *Crescent* there should so powerfully drive away the *Cross*. And thus too, when *Italy* was over-run with the barbarous Nations partly of the *Pagan*, and partly of the *Arrian* Belief, *Paganism* and *Arrianism* being then Decayed

Trees in the World, the Seed of the Christian Doctrine falling on them from the Pious and Learned hands of *Gregory the Great*, did easily work through them, and for the Conversion of them, and likewise of our *English Nation*, about the Year 600 from Heathenish Idolatry, the greatest Celebrations are due to him: and no wonder if the Papacy then yielding so good Fruit, did then cast so venerable a shade in the World. But that Tree afterward being observed to degenerate and decay, within Six Years (as the general Observation of our *Apocalyptick Men* is, (*Valeat quantum valere possit*) and who thus tells us of the *etates Antichristi*, viz. *Nascentis* in Bonifacio circa Ann. 606; *Juveniliter exultantis* in 2. *Confilio Nicæno*, Anno. 787. *Regnantis* in Hildebrando & successoribus post An. 1075. *Triumphantis* in Leone Decimo, Ann. 1517. *Ultima senescentis est*: and say, that shortly after it began to be consumptive,) and the decays of it being obvious to the view of the gazing World, and the Branches of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinistick* Tenets appearing through its sides, the quiet and gentle Order of *Capuchins* was invented for the praying for its growth and flourishing in the Year 1530. and ten years afterward the Active Fiery Order of the *Jesuites* was invented to extirpate the Men that wished ill to its growth, and after that the Fathers of the Oratory were set up to extoll and preach up the Tree, but Nature would not be extirpated: the Potent Seminal Virtue of the Rational Religion dropt on the Tree of the other, hath passed its roots through and through, and (as I may say) transubstantiated it self through them, and rooted it self deep both into the intellectual World, and into States and Kingdoms and their Laws, and will in time probably leave not one *Fibre* or *Capillamentum* of the Roots of the Irreligious part of the Tenets of Popery remaining in Nature: and shew the World that the *Schisma Anglicanum* that *Sanders* and other Papists cry out of as so unnatural, was a mere natural *Scissure* or *Rupture* of the parts of the decaying Tree of the Church of *Rome*, that came to pass from the Seed of the Protestant Religion being cast thereon.

And such a Natural *Scissure* hath the Religion of the Church of *England* made through the sides and roots of Protestant Recusancy: and the Seeds that by the hands of Non-conformists, probably guided by *Jesuites*, have been laid on the Royal-Oak of the Church of *England*, which they vainly thought decay'd, were in effect thrown away: and as the old *Prophetic Fiction* represents it, that every great Tree included a certain *Tutelar Genius* and still living with it, it may be said that Nature it self is the *Tutelar Genius* of that *Plant of Renown*, that (according to the Scripture expression) we may call the Church of *England*, and will ever live with it.

The Numbers of our Non-conformists are daily decaying, and the names of their Tenets will probably be in a short time forgotten.

We are told in *Townsend's Collections* that Sir *Walter Raleigh* mention'd it in one of the Parliaments of Queen *Elizabeth*, viz. in Anno 1593. That there were then near 20000 *Brownists* in *England*: a number somewhat near as great as that of the Papists to be estimated from the *Bishops Survey*. The name of those *Schismaticks* is evaporated, and their Tenets are not more known or enquired into by the *Populace*, then are the *Hereties* of the *Bardezaniste*, the *Aquei*, the *Abelonite*, the *Messaliani*, and some others.

As was remarked concerning the late Non-Conforming *Divines* not having bred up their Sons to Non-Conformity; the same thing is much observable among the Lay-Dissenters, and that their Children do not generally imbibe their Parents principle of Dissentership; but rather the contrary.

trary. The *Gross* of their Numbers always consisting chiefly of *Artisans* and Retail-Traders in Corporations, (where before the King's Restoration they were numerous) and naturally hating Popery and its Parade of Ceremonies, cannot but be sensible of the sharp hatred against the same in the Professors of the Religion of the Church of *England*, as by Law Established; and how vastly such Professors do every where over-shoot the Dissenters in numbers: and how the Seed of the Church of *England* liath as naturally and with as much ease pierced through the Body of theirs and dissolved its Roots, as doth the Seed of an Oak often growing in the Body of a decayed Willow.

The times were known in the *Reigns* of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the first, and likewise since, (till within these late years) that some *States-men* when their Court-Interest was decaying and in danger of *Extirpation*, could, by wheedling Dissenters into a belief that they would plant their persuasion in the Church, plant themselves the better in the State: but (*humanly speaking*) such Conjunctions of time will come here no more: and the seeming *Eradication* of such a *Religion-Trade* in Church and State, is a strong Indication, That our Heavenly Father or (as I may say) the God of Nature never planted it.

But if there were no Laws in being to *extirpate* any Dissenters *Schism*, or separation from our Church, or to Mulct or Excommunicate the obstinate Separaters, or if any of those Laws were never Executed (as through the vigilance of our Magistrates they have been) yet is there one apparent way whereby the Conformists to the Church of *England* could now as easily lessen their numbers, and consequently extirpate their Potency every where, as they can frame a thought or resolution to do it, and by no other Engine than that with which our Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* batter the *Contumacy* of particular *Towns-men*, namely, not by *Excommunicating*, but by *discommuning* them, that is to say, by forbidding the *Scholars* to Trade with them.

Their own forbearance of buying from Conformists the Wares that those of their own *Seet* do sell, may reasonably invite such a retaliation. While heretofore they were so numerous in *England*, their Congregated Churches helped many of the mean Artists and poor Traders thereof, with the pretence of Liberty of Conscience to force a Trade by Combination among themselves: and their doing it then turn'd to some account; but would now be altogether insignificant in this *way* of their Numbers.

And thus without sweat or blood, or one *Information* brought on Penal Statutes, or the least occasion or colour for their *Out-cry* of *Persecution*, may the many *Millions* of Conformists here humble the Comparative *bandful* of Popish and Protestant Recusants both in Corporations, and out of them too when they please, and in effect reduce them to the Condition the many *Empericks* in our Land would be in, if they only sold *Physick* to one another.

I affect not to be a *Propounder* of any new Law, or of the execution of any old that may give the least Addition of trouble to any Member of the Realm, whose Principles and Practices are not justly suspected to threaten the disturbance of the whole: and my being informed by some of my Correspondents who are very impartial observers of things, that many of the *Dissenters* of this Age have made the Press send forth several of the Antimonarchical Principles of the former, and as if they designed to revive its Rebellion, and that tho the same *Laws* that have secured our Religion, have likewise secured the Power of the *Militia* solely to the King, and Enacted,

that it is not lawful on any pretence to take up Arms, &c. yet that the Government is justly apprehensive of many *Dissenters* and their *Pastors*, owning the former Doctrine of *Resistance*, I could wish (as I did in behalf of the *Papists*) that they would themselves offer to his Majesty's Consideration such a way of a *Test* or Assurance of their being become *sound parts of the State*, and that they aim at no power of disturbing it; and as to his Royal Wisdom may appear substantial and satisfactory till they do so I wish that not only the Magistracy but all private loyal persons would have such a regardful eye on them as is had in Foreign parts on those that come for *Prattiques* from infected places, and bring no *Letters of Health*, and that they would have *Prattique* or Commerce with such of them: which would soon enforce them to *live by themselves*.

I have in this Discourse already acknowledged it to your *Lordships* just praise, that you are not of too narrow a Spirit or Principles as to *Protestant Dissenters*, as supposing that you had such *Sentiments* of the usage fit to be afforded to some of them, that our Learned Bishop of Winchester own'd in a Letter to your *Lordship*, which you once shewed me: and I was as ready to be their Excusator as any of the Church of *England* could be till I saw their ingratitude so instrumental in Cancelling the *Declaration of Indulgence*: and still out of a natural inclination do, as I said in the Case of the *Papists*, wish them all that share of the Royal Favour that would not undo themselves and others: and (as I said in the Case of the *Papists*) do suppose the continuance of the old Laws against *Protestant Reculants* necessary in this Conjunction, that the King in whom the Executive Power of the Laws is lodged, may sharpen the edge against any one of the Party that should be an aggressor against the Peace of the Kingdom, and especially considering how often many of the *Puritans* have took the advantage of the publick pressures of the Crown in former Ages, and that while it was in *procinctu* to withstand a Foreign Invasion. My Lord Keeper Puckering's Observation of their Temper expressed in his memorable Speech is known to all: and the present apprehensions in the Government of danger from *Dissenters*, have sufficiently evinced the Prudence of his Majesty's Measures in not repealing the Penal Clauses in our *Statutes* against *Protestant Reculants*. When they who were regarded as *weak Brethren*, do now fortiter *Calumniari* and Libel the Government, and call whom they will *Julian*, 'tis necessary that the Prince by having the power of the Penal Laws in his hand, should be able to discriminate those who have not yet discriminated themselves: and in the Case of Persons stupid and perverse, 'tis fitter that *Children should be Lachrymists than old men*.

When the *Divines* of the Church of *England* have of late from one end of the Land to the other alarmed the People with Exhortations against *Disloyalty*, as loud as those in a late Conjunction against Popery, and the King's Ministers were informed of the *Altum silentium* in the Conventicles as to any making the *English Bibles* there support the Rights of our *English Kings*, and that the *Julians* there were *Apostates* from the Principles of the Non-Conformists in King James's time, and had forgot how *Reynolds*, *Whitaker*, *Cartwright*, *Dod*, *Traverse*, &c. had in their Writings disowned the assigning it as a Cause of the Primitive Obedience, *Quia deerant vires*, and that a new Sect of false *weak Brethren* had learned to urge the *deerant vires*, 'twas time for the King to keep the strength of the old Laws in his hands, and occasionally to arm them against the *petulant insolence* of any Seditious Protestant or Popish Reculants.

I have been far from recommending in this *Discourse* the *Exterminium hereticorum*, or *Extirpation* of any *Recusants*: but have endeavour'd with the sedateness requisite in a Philosophical or Political Disquisition, to give my Judgment of the Natural Causes that induce me to expect the *Extermination* only of things, or Principles Religious, and indeed to speak more properly, of that part of Mens Principles only that is *irreligious* and against Nature, and to expect such parts being *lucē delenda*.

I expect not that all the Debates of the *Religious* part of *Presbytery* should here among all men cease, tho yet I have conjectured that they who should write professedly of that Subject here would want Readers, and as I believe too Discourers of the *Latitudinarian Hypothesis* would likewise: and do think that many little Religious Speculative Notions about the meaning of some obscure passages in *Scripture* may to some of our Dissenters seem great, and employ their time in Debates, and as when the famous *Ainsworth* and *Broughton* heretofore had before their Congregations of Dissenters who went hence to *Holland* many and fierce disputes about the Controversie, whether *Aarons ephod* were *blew* or *Sea-green*, a Controversie that puzzled all the *Dyers* of *Amsterdam*, (as *Fuller* says of it in his *Church History*) as well as it did our separatists there, that took so much pains to be therein illuminated, and which I think the light of a Farthing Candle brought in any night among them, might have easily settled (or as I may say deleted) in regard that *blew* and *yellow* making a *green*; the *yellow* of the flame of the Candle would have made what appeared *blew* by day, to have seem'd *green* at night, and prevented their further *Anathematizing* one another as *Schismatics* about the same.

And as I beforementioned it out of a late *Book* of a *Divine* of the Church of *England*, that some of the *Religious* parts of *Popery* he instanceth in, viz. *Invocation of Saints*, *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, are and will be learnedly and voluminously defended to the *Worlds end*, I believe the same may be so in *Popish* Countries abroad, and that the same will be believed by many Persons here, tho yet the voluminous discussion of the same hath long been (and is like to be) out of fashion here, and reflections on the same *en passant*, or only in short *Treatises* may be thought by our *Divines* sufficient to guide their *Auditors* from mistakes therein, and effectually to confute: and I believe that our *English* Church will never be troubled with the growth of the *Doctrine* of *Transubstantiation* under any Prince, we may have who shall believe it, nor of the *Doctrine* of *Consubstantiation* under any Prince of the *Lutheran* persuasion, nor of *Calvin's horrendum decretum* relating to *reprobation* (as 'tis call'd) under any Prince that may believe the *Doctrine* of *Calvin*, tho yet till the Peace of *Munster* the timid People of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Religions hating one another more than they did *Papists* abroad in the World, were so much impos'd on by fears and jealousies in Case a *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Prince should by the right of *Lineal Descent* come to rule them.

But the *Munster Peace* has taught them better things: and should I ever hear that any *Roman Catholick* Prince here did according to the power by Law reposed in him, relax some of the Penalties of the Law in Case of *Recusancy*, that as things now are, *Recusancy* would not be thereby rendered considerably prolific with *Converts*.

Tho I have given my opinion as beforementioned concerning the Fact of the encrease of the number of the *Papists* in the Conjunction of the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and do not think fit to alter it, yet I can tell your *Lordship* that a Person of great Sagacity who I believe considered the State of their Numbers here then very carefully, and entirely believe what

what he published thereof in Print, I mean the Author of the *Catholick Apology* with a reply, &c. there saith, that *during the Year 1672.* (and which he calls a year of Peace) *there was not one Priest, one Mass one Conversion more in England, than in the Year 1663, 1666. or any other time of trouble.*

I have in this Discourse spoke of such a perfect hatred against Popery as may always consist with a perfect love to Papists, and cinge not a hair of their heads more than a Lambent fire. I have acknowledged the great mortifications austerities and zealous devotions, not only among many of the Religious Orders of the Church of Rome, but of the common People, and have allowed a sober Party to the Jesuites themselves, and have reason to believe that Bellarmine himself, that hammer of Heretical Princes, as his Works shew him, was yet of so soft and gentle a disposition as would not permit him to hurt a Fly or tread on a Worm: and I have reflected on no other Principles of the Jesuites, with any sharpness than what the present Pope hath done, and which the Court of Inquisition at Rome or elsewhere would have allowed me to do: and I have been as I still am so free from any thing of rancour or acerbity in my Principles, relating to the usage of the Papists that an English Priest of the Church of Rome, the Author of the remarkable Book beforementioned, called the *Advocate of Conscience Liberty, or an Apology for toleration rightly stated*, published in the Year 1673. (and the most considerable Book that had for several years been writ in favour of the Roman Catholicks, and a Book our Learned Dr. Stillingfleet refers to in a very excellent printed Sermon of his p. 43. and called, *The Reformation justified*, and Preached before the Lord Mayor of London) doth me the honour there to adopt as his own several Sayings of mine, he found in a printed Discourse of mine that was disswasive of the use of force in matters of Religion, and gave me occasion when I read some passages in his 14th, 25th, 26th, 34th, 43d, 54th, 55th, 62d, 94th Pages there, to call to mind that I had read them elsewhere: and much good might any thing in my Writings do that Author, and he was as welcome to them as if they had been his own: and I am sorry that his not citing an Author where he should have done it, was accompanied with another misfortune of citing one where he should not, I mean his in p. 225. citing of D' Ossat. He might have cited another passage of mine against *Hereticide* as being impolitic if he had pleased to have took notice of it among its fellows, and where I observed, that *the putting of the Roman Catholick Priests here to death, did propagate their Religion: and that that Faith was given to the Assertors of Popish Opinions, because they were dying, which they could not have drawn from me but by raising the dead.*

I still own what in p. 93. he partly cites of mine as said by another Author, *That if it be not lawful for every man to be guided by his private Judgment in things of Religion, 'twill be hardly possible to acquit our separation from the Romish Church from the guilt of Schism, &c.* and if any Papist shall as to any Tenet that can properly come within the denomination of Religion tell me, that his private Judgment guides him to receive the guidance of the Church of Rome, and that therefore I a Protestant ought not to be inclined to bear hard upon him on the account of such adhesion to his private Judgment, I shall own the *Argumentum ad hominem* so far as to tell him that I am not inclined *eo nomine* to be severe to him.

And now my Lord, because it hath been so customary in the Authors of large Discourses to bestow on them a short REVIEW, that it would appear fullness in me not to follow them, and because it would be an irreverence to your great Judgment in me to present any thing for you to view
once

once, that I had not resolv'd to view twice, I intend to improve some Intervals of leisure hereafter in reviewing of this *Discourse*, and shall explain some passages therein on occasion and add others: and if I doubt of any thing particularly in the various matters of *Calculation* herein contained (and of many of which few or none perhaps have written) or shall alter my opinion therein, or in any thing else, I shall acquaint your *Lordship* why I do so; and do as much value my self on my natural temper of acknowledging a quick and ready assent to any proposition of Reason that convinceth my understanding (how contradictory soever the same may be to any former Notion of mine) as any man can value himself on his thinking he never erred, or on his Abilities either by Eloquence or Sophisms to make others think so, and to make them erre with him: and do still account this to be one of the best properties in the best *Ship*, namely, the soonest to feel its Rudder: and do think, that as none but Cowards are cruel, so none but Dunces are positive.

My Lord, after the Efflux of the various Intervals in which this *Discourse* was written, it having happened that the *Papists* are to the general satisfaction of impartial Judges of Men and Things, become as sound a part of this Nation as they were and are of the *Dutch States*, (and as throughout this *Discourse* I always supposed them capable of being) and that the *Body* of them is as *Loyal* as can be wished, and likely forever so to continue, and that none but the *Factions* would have them now to groan under the Penal Laws as formerly, I will not despair of many of our *Dissenters* improving hereafter in Principles of *Loyalty*, as likewise of *Conformity*, but hope they will really deserve to be thought as *Loyal* as they were so, *de facto*, by many greater Judges than my self at the time of the beginning of this *Discourse*, and when so many in our *Loyal Parliaments* were so extravagant in their Charity to *Dissenters*, as to think that *St. Peters Ship* was the only *Fire-Ship*, and *Non-Conformity* a quiet trading *Merchant-man*, and being hared with fears and jealousies of *Popery*, were so eager to have the very *Laws* against *Protestant Recusants* Repealed.

But as I hinted the distinguishing between *Popish* and *Protestant* Mathematicks to be absurd, and as a gross Error about *Proportion* or *Numbers* would appear more ridiculous in *Archimedes* than in an ordinary *Mathematician*; so true *Protestants* Non-sense or true *Protestants* Rebellion is to be no favourable Case: and the Name of *Protestants* must not more than that of the *Society* of *Jesus* be allowed as a Charm to raise the Devil of Rebellion.

When *Luther* and those who of old deserved the Name of True *Protestants* abroad as great Co-workers with *Nature*, in introducing the *Reformation* of Religion, were almost deafen'd by their *Papal* Adversaries Outcries of the *tunica inconsutulis*, and when particularly as *Sleidan* tells us in his *Commentarys*, *Granvill* the *Emperors* Deputy in an *harangue* he made to the *Citizens* of *Wormes* did so passionately conjure them, That they would not tear *Christ's* seamless Coat, the *Protestant* *Populace* was so far from being aw'd out of their way by those words, as that they gave their Adversaries the Name of *Inconsutulistæ*, or the seamless men: and as little will any of our false and jesuited *Rebellious Dissenters* effect any thing but the abuse of the name and thing of *Protestancy*, and the ridiculing themselves by their usurping on a pretence to be TRUE PROTESTANTS.

It comes here in my way to observe that some of our *Dissenters* and other *Nominal* *Protestants*, who are so apt without sense or reason to call others Enemies to the King and Kingdom, have really appeared such to

both, by their having so much encreased *Divisions* in our *State* as well as *Church*, and by their having been the *Aggressors* in the dividing the *Populace* here by spiteful calling of *Names*, which yet I have not thought fit to mention in this *Discourse*, and whereby the *Loyal* have been forced some way to *retaliate*, not only out of a generous scorn, but that they might speak intelligibly: such *Aggressors* have likewise notoriously contributed to the *Divisions* in the Kingdom by their too much encouraging the *Plot-Witnesses* (and particularly that *Recorded Profligate* who so desperately perjured himself in the Case of your *Lordship*, and the Earl of *Peterborough* and a *High-born Prince*) and by extreme acerbity and rancour relating to the Persons of *Papists*. But their most fatal injury to their Country hath been their weakning its *Reputation* (a thing which *Kingdoms* must necessarily subsist by, as well as *private Persons*) through their studied Artifice of making a *Popish Plot* to be thought so long lived, and when *England's* reputation for its *strength*, or which is all one for its being united within it self, was much more necessary for its well being, than in any *Conjuncture* of time that perhaps ever happen'd.

Considering therefore that the present *State* of *England* doth, and that the probable *Future State* of it will call so peremptorily on all his Majesty's Subjects to preserve their Country by the *Exterminium* of all *Divisions*, as I think I have not brought any disreputation to my own Judgment by adventuring to predict the necessary growth of *Loyalty* making all *England* to become in time one *Sober Party*; so I am sure I have provided for the *Reputation* of my Country thereby as well as I could.

I am not so angry as to think that many of our *Religionary Recusants* will either on the account of the *Divine Prayer* of the holy *Jesus* for the uniting his Flock, or of any *Scripture-predictions* of the more *pacific* temper that *Christians* shall at last be blest with, be thus inclined to endeavour to shew themselves (as I may say) honest *Inconsutulists*, and to forbear dividing our Realm as formerly: but by their *Interest* so visibly and palpably concerned in the strengthening the Kingdom, I suppose necessity of *Nature* may be instrumental in the accomplishment of such *Scripture-predictions*: and just as the *Interest* and *Concern* of the *Souldiers* in the *Gospel* who hoped to have *Christ's seamless Coat* come to their share, inclined them not to rend it and to cast *Lots* for the same, and whereby the *Scripture* was fulfilled as is said in the *Gospel*.

I have mentioned it out of the *Scripture* that the *Stork* knoweth her appointed times, and the *Crane* and the *Swallow* observe the time of their coming: and I may (thinking of a great Prince abroad) add, that the sight of a numberless Flock of *Stares* making somewhat like a *Cloud* in the Air, and safely flying close together, while there is a *Falcon* towering above them, will direct the *Populace* of several parts of *Christendom* to *Loyalty* and to the natural *Garranty* of *Union* at home under their respective *Governors*, whereby they will be effectually preserved.

As I have in this *Discourse* entertained your *Lordship* with somewhat like a short *Historical Account* of the accidental encrease and natural decrease of the Numbers of the *Papists* in several *Conjunctures* since the *Reformation*, so I shall in my intended *Review* with the like of those of the *Non-Conformists*, and impartially take notice of the respective *Conjunctures* of their *petulant insolence*: and whereby I shall shew to what strange *Principles* of Out-raging our *Municipal Laws* they were gradually abandoned.

As a *Specimen* hereof I shall observe, That *Ames* a Learned *Dissenter* of the former Age, in the *Preface* of his *Puritanismus Anglicanus*, printed in the year 1610, speaking of the sufferings of the *Clerical Dissenters*, saith,
That

That the *Crime* they were adjudged guilty of in *England* was, *Quod obsti-*
naverunt sese contra leges: and then goeth on to ask, *Sed quæ tandem*
illæ quarum gratiâ & vi tot fideles & aliâs inculpati Ministri sunt bonis
omnibus sedibusq; pulsi (*nam ex altari vivebant*) *dignitatibus & functio-*
nibus suis exuti, fædati etiam existimatione? *Sunt autem ne nescias non*
fundamentales Regni leges, non vetera Majorum scita aut consulta, quorum sum-
mam brevem in Magnâ (*ut appellant*) *Charta conscriptam habemus*: *hæc*
illi Religiosissime colunt: *horum fidem implorant*; *sed Canones nescio qui in*
legum fraudem dolo malo confecti, à Parlamentario senatu damnati, vere son-
trati, quos denique adversus ministros inviti, & non sine pudore & in alios cul-
pæ traiectione, exercent Authores ipsi, &c.

But we may with horror ask, *what kind of Laws* is it, that those have
Outraged since 41, and some of them since the year 60, and since a par-
ticular Law hath declared the *Militia* to be solely in the *King*?

I most humbly take my leave of your Lordship at present, and
 am,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most

Faithful Servant.

THE
